



# CENSUS OF INDIA 1991

OCCASIONAL PAPER  
No. 1 OF 1993



## EMERGING TRENDS OF URBANIZATION IN INDIA

An Analysis of  
1991 Census Results

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WON BAE KIM



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IN INDIA  
AN ANALYSIS OF 1991 CENSUS RESULTS**

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ANALYSIS OF 1991 CENSUS RESULTS  
IN 1991  
EMERGING TRENDS OF EXISTENCE

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## FOREWORD

Under the agreement between the Government of India and United States of America through the Agency for International Development (USAID), the Office of the Registrar General, India has been assigned to execute the Demographic Analysis Component. Activities under this Component include organisation of training programmes, workshops, conferences and research in collaboration with the institutions in the United States of America like the East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii and the Bureau of the Census, Washington D.C.

This study is a result of the collaborative research between the East-West Population Institute and the Office of the Registrar General, India.

I thank the authors for the effort put in by them and hope that this work will be of interest to data users. I also thank the United States Agency for International Development and the East-West Population Institute for making the research work possible.

NEW DELHI  
October 25, 1992

A. R. NANDA  
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HONOLULU-HAWAII (USA)  
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## OVERVIEW

The 1991 Census results (provisional), contrary to the expectations, reveal a slowing down of tempo of urbanisation in India. For example, the exponential rate of urban population growth has fallen from 3.8 per cent during 1971-81 to 3.1 per cent during 1981-91. As a result of this, the level of urbanisation is found to be 25.7 per cent as against the projected level of 27.5 per cent in 1991. Among the major States, only Kerala reveals a considerably faster pace of urban population growth leading to a significant increase in the level of urbanisation in the last decade when compared to that noted in the earlier decade. Whereas, in some of the major States viz., Bihar, Karnataka, Orissa, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, the pace of urban population growth is considerably lower during 1981-91 as compared to that of the earlier decade 1971-81. An examination of the data on various crucial indicators of development viz., per capita Net Domestic Product, Literacy Rate and Infant Mortality Rate, on the one hand, and level and trend of urbanisation amongst the major States during the last decade on the other, brings out that while the level of urbanisation appears to have a positive association, the pace of urban population growth has got an inverse relationship with the aforesaid indicators of overall development of these States.

As regards the changes in size class composition of urban population, a gradual increase in the concentration of urban population in cities and urban agglomerations having 100,000 and more population is noted during the last 90 years period. This phenomenon of increasing concentration is even more explicitly reflected through the increase in number and population of 'million +' cities which is indicative of the fact that the urbanisation process in India is gradually being centered around large urban centres thus leaving a very little scope for the emergence and growth of other towns situated outside the large city-regions. In other words, it is becoming the process of 'Concentrated Urbanisation'.



A probe into the relative share of natural increase, net internal migration and areal reclassification with respect to the decadal urban population growth indicates to a considerable reduction in the percentage share of net internal migration both at the all India level and also in a number of major States. It is noteworthy to state that in Bihar and Tamil Nadu, the contribution of net internal migration is found to be on the negative-side thereby, showing a strong possibility of an excessive outmigration from the urban areas of these States in comparison to immigration to such areas. A similar trend is noted in Punjab in regard to the contribution of areal classification which has been found to be on the negative side. As against this, in Kerala the contribution of areal classification is found to be the maximum as more than two-third of the urban population growth during the last decade has been accounted by this factor alone.

An examination of the patterns of urban population growth by size-class categories indicates to a comparatively faster pace of population growth in case of cities including urban agglomerations having 100,000 and more population than the towns. Further amongst the towns falling under different categories, a negative trend is noticed in the last category comprising small towns having less than 20,000 population during the last decade. Computations of the growth rates for the cohorts of the cities and towns falling under different categories at the beginning of each of the last three decades (since 1961), however, revealed that the pace of population growth among medium and small towns remained pretty close to that of the cities and large towns. Further, even the relatively faster pace of population growth as reported for cities than the remaining categories of towns during the last decade is found to be non-existent once the growth rates are adjusted for the emergence of new towns within the city agglomerations which have been treated at par with other cities.

These aforesaid salient features of urbanisation as noted in the last decade from the 1991 Census have raised some important issues in regard to the future course of urbanisation in the

country. For example, the slowing down of the pace of urbanisation during the last decade which is further borne out by a significant reduction in the proportionate share of net migration (internal) in the decadal urban population growth has raised a basic question in regard to the nature and extent of industrial development during the last two Five Year Plans i.e., Sixth (1980-85) and Seventh (1986-90) and its effect on the urbanisation process in the country. Moreover, this slackness in the process of urbanisation is noted more prominently in the developed States where, the concentration of urban population in cities, particularly in million + cities has increased considerably. This is not only due to additions of millions of persons in the large cities but also due to addition of a large number of new towns on their peripheries in 1991. Apart from these, the decadal growth of rural population in the areas adjacent to such cities has remained quite significant and in a couple of cases viz., Delhi and Chandigarh, the growth rates of rural population of the respective Union Territory are even double or more than that noted for cities. It thus signifies that in the large urban centres particularly in the 'mega-cities' of Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and Madras, the spread of urbanisation as measured through the trends in population growth has transcended the traditional urban boundaries and has found its firm footing in the surrounding rural areas largely due to remarkable growth in the means of transport and communication in the recent time.





## INTRODUCTION

As per the 1991 Census results (Provisional), 217 million out of 844 million persons lived in urban areas. In other words, slightly more than one-fourth of India's total population was enumerated in urban areas. When compared with the urban population projections made by the Experts Committee on Population Projections appointed by the Planning Commission (1987), enumerated urban population and level of urbanisation are on the lower side. Because, as per its medium population projections, 230 million persons constituting 27.5 percent were supposed to be urbanites. Further, the population living in cities and urban agglomerations having 100,000 and more population was also less than the population projected by the Task Force on Urban Development set up by the Planning Commission (1983) which had projected it as 150 million while the actual count showed approximate 139 million persons living in such places. Thus, the tempo of urbanisation i.e., the extent of urban population growth and cities population growth during the last decade has been less than that observed during preceding decade (1971-1981). For example, while the annual exponential growth of urban population fell from 3.83 to 3.09 the annual rate of gain in percentage of urban population reduced from 1.72 to 1.02 over the last 2 decades (Census of India, 1991). This slackening of urbanisation process as noticed during the last decade has posed some serious questions to the scholars studying this phenomenon. It has been contended that this could be due to a decline in natural growth rate and rate of immigration (Premi : 1991).

In view of the facts mentioned above, an attempt is made in this study to explore into the dynamics of urban population growth at the all India level and also in the major States during



the last 2 to 3 decades after providing back drop of the urban development in India. Accordingly the scope of the present enquiry covers the following aspects:—

- A. Urban development in India—a historical perspective
- B. Levels and trends of urbanisation—contemporary scene :
  - (a) Dispersal and growth in number and population of urban settlements and level of urbanisation
  - (b) Variation in size class composition of urban population
- C. Dynamics of urban population growth :
  - (a) Changes in urban frame—addition and deletion of towns
  - (b) Components of urban population growth
  - (c) Growth patterns of cities and towns
- D. Salient features of urbanisation.

## SECTION—I

### URBANISATION IN INDIA—A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Urban development in India has continued for a very long period. First trace of it has been found in the Harappa urbanism which prevailed during 2350 B.C. and 1750 B.C. (Sharma : 1991). It was flourishing in the North-West part of the Indian subcontinent where, a chain of urban centres was found which extended from Iran, Iraq and Asia Minor to Greece and Egypt.

This period was followed by the early historic period which lasted from 500 B.C. to around 600 A.D. and was largely confined to Middle Ganges Plain and parts of Coastal South India. After the fall of Gupta Empire, this phase of urban development declined during the 7th century A.D.

Later on, the invasion of Turks followed by the Sultanate rule helped in revival of urban development in India. This revival was largely due to opening of commerce between India, Central Asia and West Asia resulting from the process of political integration of the country. This phase started around 11th century A.D. and continued with some changes till the fall of Mughal Empire i.e., till the 17th century A.D. (Chandra : 1991).

With the arrival of British East India Company, the nature of urbanisation process changed remarkably. Because, the establishment of the British Imperial Government and the advent of railways in the second half of last century led to the replacement of centripetal intersettlement linkages evolved over time through introverted road net work by the centrifugal pulls generated by the metropolitan economy through the establishment of new port towns and orientation of the railway net work and internal commodity flow towards them. Due to consider-



able growth in overseas trade during the colonial regime, some prominent port cities like Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were set up and these dominated the urban scene along with Delhi and a few other metropolises.

As a result of growth of these primate cities, importance of old cities and towns declined considerably not only in terms of population size but also in terms of economic and administrative functions. Urbanisation in colonial India was thus characterised by the existence of a high degree of primacy (Kidwai : 1991).

## SECTION—II

### LEVELS AND TRENDS OF URBANISATION—THE CONTEMPORARY SCENE

In order to have a better understanding of the contemporary urbanisation patterns in India, it would be appropriate to have some idea about the type of settlements treated as urban in the recent censuses. A review of changes in the concepts and definitions employed for treating a place as urban in the recent censuses of India clearly shows that the civic or statutory status of a place has served as the most crucial factor for treating it as the urban in India. In addition, some places having certain conspicuous demographic features were also treated as the urban since the beginning of census operations in India. The definition of an urban area has remained fairly constant throughout the period, however, this was made more explicit and has been applied more rigorously and uniformly since 1961. Further, there has been no major change in it to date with only an exception relating to the exclusion of certain economic activities like fishing, livestock, logging, plantations, orchards, etc., in 1981 from the category of non-agricultural activities for computing the percentage of male workers engaged in such activities (Jain : 1992).

The definition of urban area, as per the 1991 Census is as follows:

- “(a) All places with a municipality, corporation, cantonment board or notified town area committee, etc.



(b) All other places which satisfy the following criteria:

- (i) minimum population of 5,000;
- (ii) at least 75 per cent of male working population engaged in non-agricultural pursuits; and
- (iii) a density of population of at least 400 persons per sq. km.

Besides, the Directors of Census Operations in States/ Union Territories were allowed to include, in consultation with the concerned State Governments/Union Territory Administrations and the Census Commissioner of India, some places having distinct urban characteristics as urban even if such places did not strictly satisfy all the criteria mentioned under category (b) above" (Census of India: 1991).

Apart from these, the outgrowths of cities and towns also have been treated as urban. These outgrowths include "fairly large well recognised railway colony, university campus, port area, military camp, etc., which might have come up" around a core city or statutory town...."since such areas are already urbanised....although a few of them may not satisfy some of the prescribed eligibility tests to qualify themselves as independent urban units....have been termed as outgrowth (OGs) and reckoned along with the town" (Census of India, 1991). Each such town together with its outgrowth(s) is treated as an 'urban agglomeration'. This concept of urban agglomeration was adopted in 1971 in lieu of the old concept of town group which was introduced in 1961. An "urban agglomeration" denotes "a continuous urban spread and normally consists of a town and its adjoining urban outgrowths (OGs), or two or more physically contiguous towns together with contiguous well recognised outgrowths if any, of such towns" (Census of India, 1991).

### (a) Dispersal and Growth in Number and Population of Urban Settlements

The urban population of India as per the 1991 Census is 217,177,625 which includes the projected urban population of 1,839,400 of Jammu and Kashmir as on 1st March, 1991. This accounts for 25.72 per cent of country's total population.

It may be seen from Table 1 that the number of towns/urban agglomerations has increased from 1,827 in 1901 to 3,768 in 1991. There was a steady increase in number of towns till 1951 but due to more rigorous tests applied in 1961 to determine whether a place qualified to be treated as a town or not many urban places were declassified and hence, the number declined from 2,843 in 1951 to 2,365 in 1961 (Figure - One). Further, despite a continuous increase in urban population during the last 9 decades, the tempo of urbanisation (average annual growth rate of urban population *minus* average annual growth rate of rural population) exhibited a varied trend (Figure-Two). For example, it showed a decline during 1901-11 owing to devastating plague epidemic of 1911 which spread mainly in the urban areas and brought an exodus of urban population to rural areas. While natural calamity was the main factor underlying the slow pace of urbanisation during 1901-11, the effect of 2nd World War and the partitioning of the country during 1947 were mainly responsible for the sudden spurt in urban growth during 1931-41 and 1941-51. The pace was slow again in 1951-61 due to declassification of a large number of areas as already mentioned. With the introduction of Five Year Plans, the country experienced rapid industrialisation. The decades 1961-71 and 1971-81, therefore, showed an upward trend in urban growth. The tempo is slow again during 1981-91, the reasons for which are briefly discussed in the next section but can be explored in detail only when requisite data would be available.



Table 1 : Variation in Number and Population ('000s) of Urban Agglomerations (UAs) and Towns, since 1901

Census Year	Number of UAs/Towns	Total Population	Urban Population	Urban Population as Percentage of Total Population	Decennial Growth Rate of Urban Population (Per cent)	Average Annual Growth Rate (Urban)	Tempo of Urbanisation*
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1901	1827	238396	25852	10.84	—	—	—
1911	1815	252093	25942	10.29	0.35	0.03	(—)0.60
1921	1949	251321	28086	11.18	8.27	0.79	0.80
1931	2072	278977	33456	11.99	19.12	1.76	0.80
1941	2250	318661	44153	13.86	31.97	2.81	1.68
1951	2843	361088	62444	17.29	41.42	3.52	2.65
1961	2365	439235	78937	17.97	26.41	2.30	0.40
1971	2590	548160	109114	19.91	38.23	3.28	1.28
1981@	3378	683329	159462	23.34	46.14	3.68	1.83
1991#	3768	844324	217178	25.72	36.19	3.16	1.37

NOTES : @1981 figures include interpolated figures for Assam.

#The 1991 Census has not been held in Jammu & Kashmir. The 1991 population figures for India include projected figures for Jammu & Kashmir as projected by the Standing Committee on Population Projections (October, 1989).

\*Tempo of urbanisation has been worked out by subtracting the average annual growth rate of rural population from that of the urban population.

Source: Census of India, 1991, Paper 2, Provisional Population Totals: Rural-Urban Distribution.

Figure.1

**INDIA**  
**NUMBER OF URBAN AGGLOMERATIONS / TOWNS**  
**1901 - 1991**

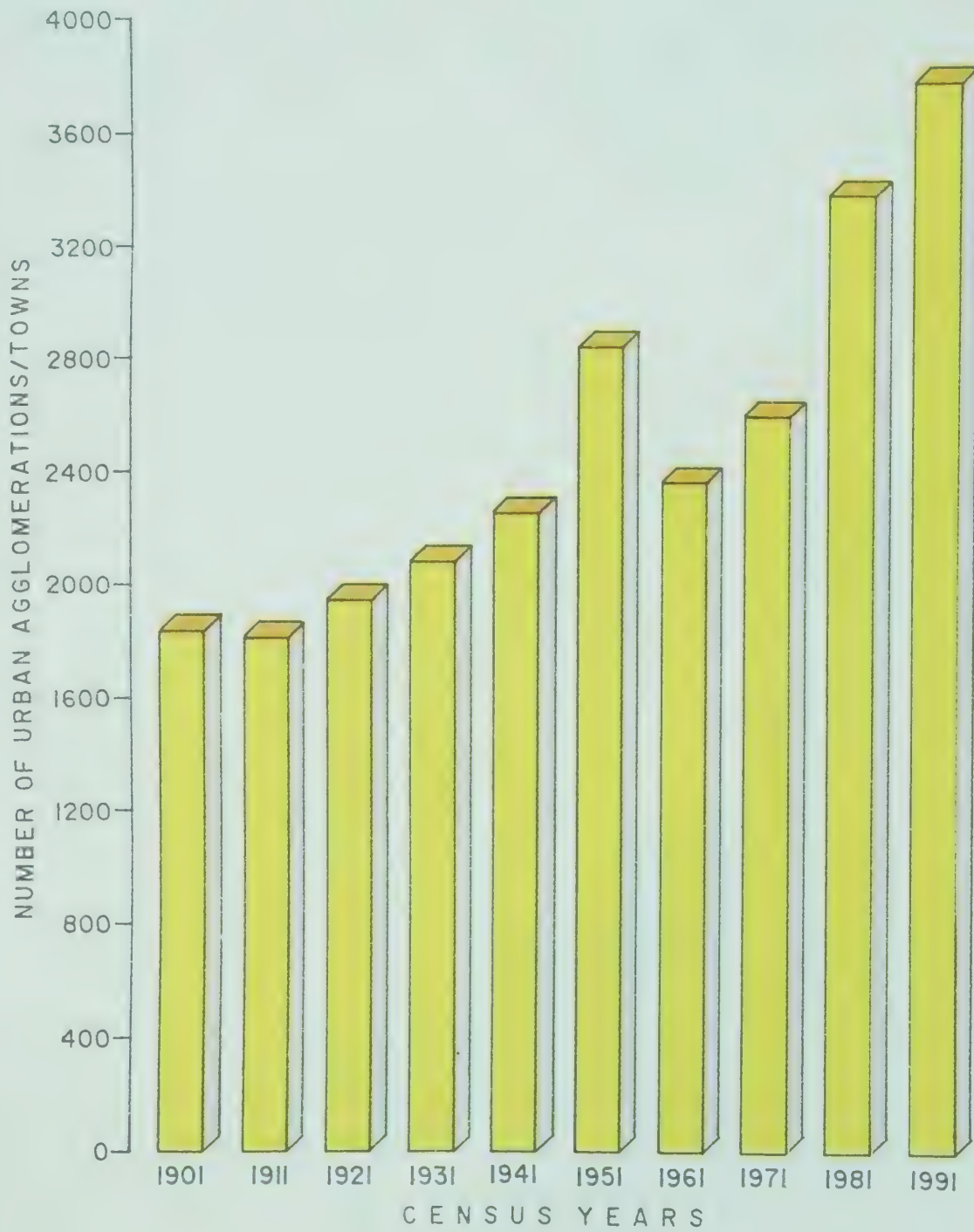
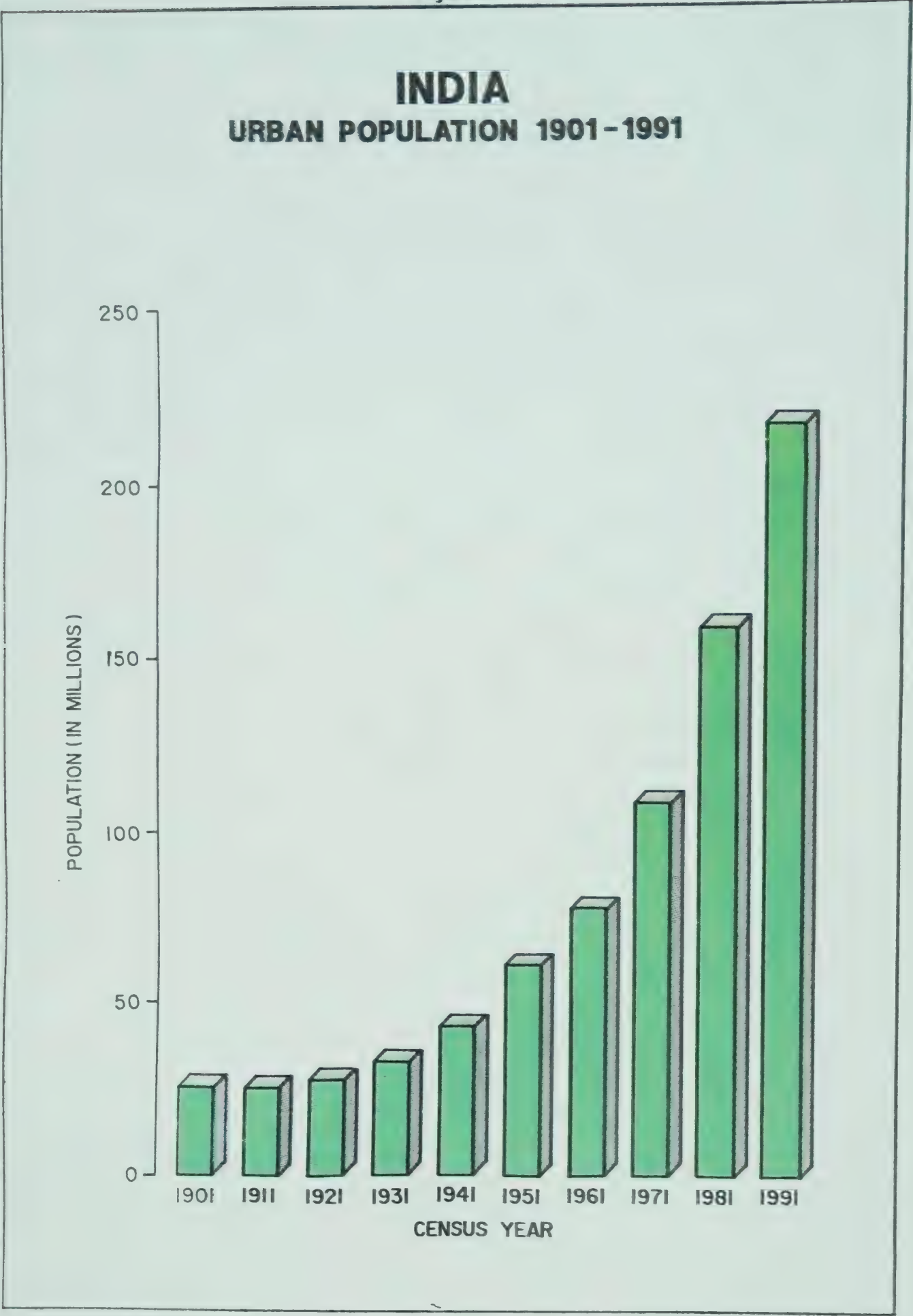






Figure.II





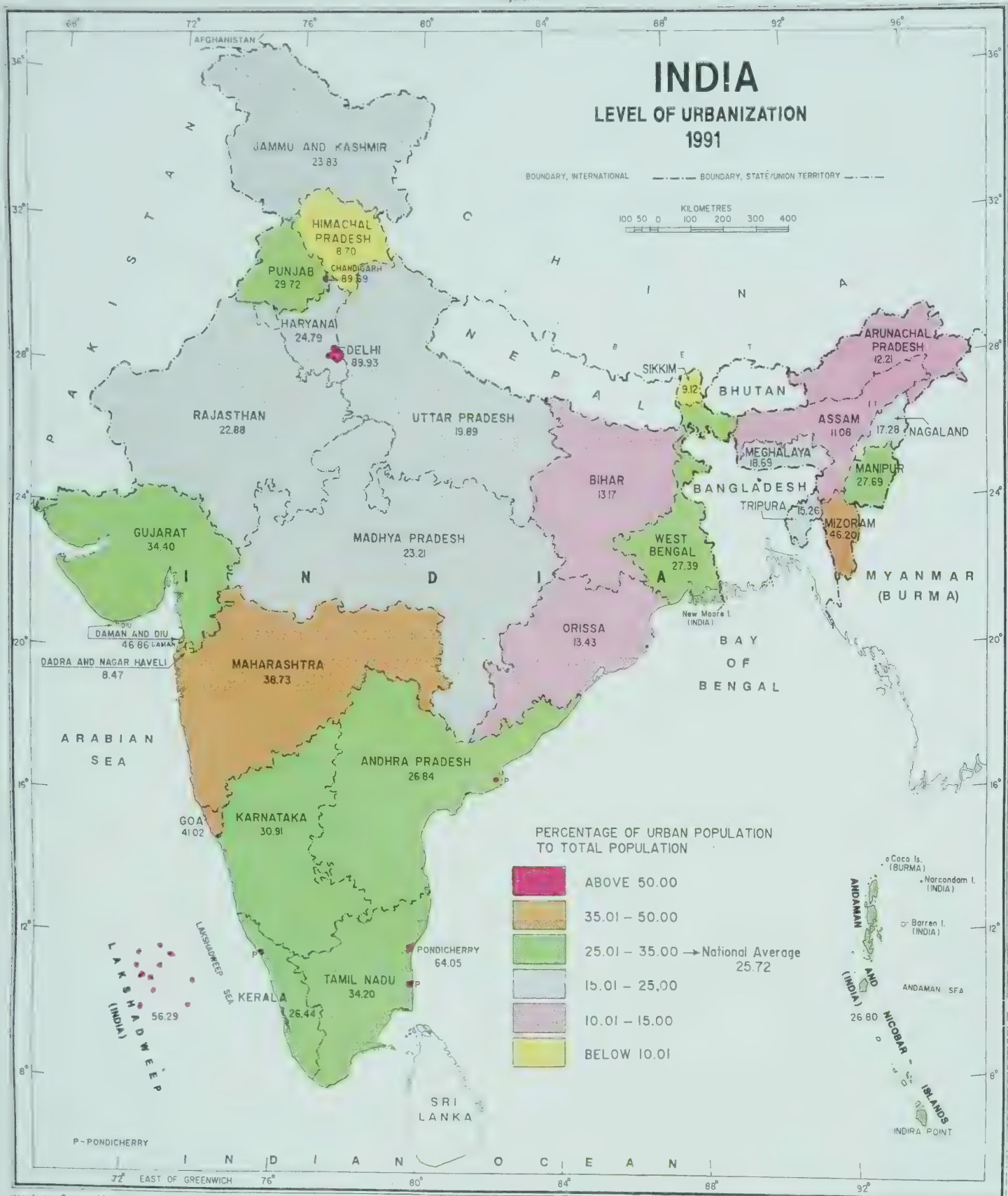


Among the States and Union Territories as evident from Figure-Three and Appendix Table-1, number of towns and urban agglomerations varied widely i.e., from less than 10 per cent in smaller States and Union Territories to more than 700 in Uttar Pradesh and size of urban population from around 12 thousand in Lakshadweep to more than 30 million in Maharashtra in 1991. The level of urbanisation was, however, considerably high in a number of smaller States and Union Territories and particularly in Delhi and Chandigarh where due to their being National and State capitals, almost 90 percent of the total population lived in respective city agglomerations. As against this, level of urbanisation among the major States varied from less than 15 percent in Assam, Bihar and Orissa to 30 percent and more in Gujarat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Punjab and Tamil Nadu. The minimum (11 percent) was recorded in Assam and the maximum (approximately 39 percent) was recorded in Maharashtra.





Figure. III



Based upon Survey of India map with the permission of the Surveyor General of India.  
The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line.

The boundary of Meghalaya shown on this map is as interpreted from the North-Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Act 1971, but has yet to be verified.

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The pace of urban population growth among the States and Union Territories, on the other hand, varied from a decline of 28 percent in Sikkim to an increase of more than 100 percent in Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh. While the decline noted in Sikkim was mostly due to change in the statutory limits of five towns, the spurt in urban population noted in the two above mentioned States was due to addition of 16 and 4 new towns in Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh respectively in 1991. Among the major States, the pace of urban population growth varied from less than 20 percent in Tamil Nadu to more than 60 percent in Kerala.

A comparison of the percent change in urban population growth during the last decade with that of the preceding decade reveals that, barring a few exceptions, the pace of urban population growth slowed down or remained stagnant in all other remaining States and Union Territories. Moreover, all the major States except Kerala revealed a deceleration in the pace of urban population growth. And this trend was more conspicuous in Bihar, Karnataka, Orissa, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh.

As a result of a relatively slower pace of urban population growth, level of urbanisation increased slowly in most of the States and Union Territories except Mizoram, Daman & Diu and Pondicherry where, it increased by 10 percent points during the last decade. Further, it declined in Sikkim and in Union Territories of Chandigarh and Delhi. This decline in case of Sikkim as stated earlier, was due to change in statutory limits of five towns but in case of Chandigarh and Delhi which happened to be the most urbanised areas, it was largely due to a tendency of drift in population from capital cities to their adjoining areas as revealed by the fact that the average annual exponential growth rate of rural population of Chandigarh is not only the highest followed by Delhi amongst all the States and Union Territories but this is in fact more than double of the urban population growth rate (i.e., 8.32 as against 3.07) in case of Chandigarh and almost double (i.e., 7.35 as against 3.35) in



Delhi. Moreover, unlike a declining trend discerned in case of urban growth rates, a most outstanding increase in the growth rate of rural population has been noticed in both the territories over the last two decades.

A probe into the pattern of relationship between the level and trend of urbanisation on one hand and three crucial economic and socio-demographic indicators of development on the other, as attempted with the help of figures provided in Table-2 reveals that all the developed States (except Haryana) having higher per capita Net Domestic Product (NDP) had a higher level of urbanisation and underdeveloped or developing States having low per capita NDP had a low level of urbanisation than the national average. A similar pattern also emerges when level of urbanisation is viewed in the contest of level of literacy among the major States. Exceptions to this trend are, however, noted in Assam and Haryana on the one hand, which had a higher level of literacy but a low level of urbanisation and in Andhra Pradesh on the other, which had a low level of literacy but the level of urbanisation was higher than the national average. Further, the States showing a low level of Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) or in other words having a better health status showed a higher level of urbanisation and those having a higher level of IMR had a lower level of urbanisation with the exceptions of Haryana on the one hand and Gujarat on the other.

Table 2: Indices of Urbanisation and Economic, Social and Demographic Development in India and its Major States

India/State	Percent Urban (1991)	Average Annual Growth Rate- Urban (1981- 1991)	Per Capita Net Domestic Pro- ducts (NDP) 1988	Literacy Rate (1991)	Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) (1990)
1	2	3	4	5	6
INDIA					
Andhra Pradesh	25.72	3.09	777	52	80
Assam	26.84	3.55	758	45	70
Bihar	11.08	3.27	605	53	76
Gujarat	13.17	2.65	482	38	75
Haryana	34.40	2.90	860	61	72
Karnataka	24.79	3.58	1233	55	69
Kerala	30.91	2.55	799	56	70
Madhya Pradesh	26.44	4.76	639	91	17
Maharashtra	23.21	3.71	583	43	111
Orissa	38.73	3.27	1039	63	58
Punjab	13.43	3.08	535	49	122
Rajasthan	29.72	2.56	1652	57	61
Tamil Nadu	22.88	3.31	646	39	84
Uttar Pradesh	34.20	1.76	828	64	59
West Bengal	19.89	3.29	607	42	99
	27.39	2.54	860	58	63

Source(s):

- (1) Census of India, 1991, Paper Nos. 1 and 2, Provisional Population Totals, Page Nos. 73 (Paper-I) and 19 and 51 (Paper No. 2).
- (2) Government of India (Central Statistical Organisation) Statistical Year Book, 1989, p. 345.
- (3) Registrar General, India, Sample Registration Bulletin, Vol. XXVI, No. 1, June, 1992, p. 32.



The relationship between the pace of urban population growth and the above stated indicators of development revealed a reversal in the trend. That is while those States having higher values with respect to the per capita NDP and literacy rate have shown a low average annual growth rate of urban population during the last decade and those having a lower value for these indicators showed a higher growth rate of urban population. Exceptions to this trend were, however, noted in certain States such as Andhra Pradesh, Haryana, Kerala and Maharashtra which had a higher per capita NDP and also a higher growth rate as against Bihar which had a lower per capita NDP and a lower growth rate than the national average. Whereas, in case of literacy rates Assam, Haryana, Kerala and Maharashtra revealed a higher literacy rate and higher growth rate and Bihar showed an opposite trend. Lastly, in 3 of the 4 major States where, the IMR was higher than the national average, the pace of urban population growth was faster than that noted at the national level. In the remaining fourth State namely, Orissa which had the highest IMR (122), the pace of urban population growth was almost similar to that of the country as a whole. As against these, in a majority of the States having low IMR, the pace of urban population growth was slower than that of the country as a whole. But in Kerala, which had the lowest IMR (17) the growth rate was, however, found to be the maximum (4.76) followed by Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Haryana and Maharashtra where, the pace of urban population growth was found to be higher than the all India average.

This phenomenon of a relatively slower pace of urban population growth in the developed States and of a faster pace in the less developed States could largely be due to the fact that while the developed States, as stated earlier, are already more urbanised and hence are likely to have less growth potential than the developing States which are still catching up the momentum of urban growth in the recent time. The deviation noted in some of the States in this regard could be explained as follows:

**Haryana :** In Haryana contrary to the general trend of slower pace of urban population growth in the developed States, growth rate of urban population was higher than the national average. This could be due to the increasing pace of economic development in certain cities and large towns



which are situated within the National Capital Region, Delhi. Besides, it could also partly be due to an increasing flow of immigration from neighbouring States (Punjab) during the last decade due to disturbed political and social conditions prevailing there for quite some time.

**Kerala :** In Kerala which registered the highest rate of urban population growth, as will be revealed later, a large number of new towns have emerged in the State at the time of 1991 Census and population living in these towns have accounted for approximately two-third of the decadal urban population growth.

**Maharashtra :** In Maharashtra, which is the most urbanised State of India, a relatively faster pace of urban population growth could be due to increasing pace of industrialisation around the megacity of Bombay and the metro cities of Pune and Nagpur which in turn are causing rapid urbanisation in the surrounding areas.

**Bihar :** As stated earlier, contrary to the observed trend of a faster pace of urban population growth noted for the less developed States, Bihar which is having the lowest per capita NDP and literacy level among the major States has witnessed a slower pace of urban population growth than that noted at the all India level. This is also despite the fact that Bihar is having rich mineral resources particularly coal deposits. A lot of industrial development has already taken place in the Dhanbad-Jharia region in the fifties and sixties. Thus, the slow pace of urbanisation in case of Bihar can only be attributed to a growing stagnation of its economy which might have perhaps led to the outmigration of its people from urban areas. This fact is further supported by the figures presented in the next section where, net migration is reported to be having an adverse effect on the decadal urban population growth.



### (b) Changes in Size-class Composition of Urban Population

Customarily, data on urban places and their population are presented in six-fold classification. While the first size-class comprises cities i.e., urban places having 100,000 and more population, the last category comprises the tiny towns i.e., places having less than 5,000 population. In order to provide a meaningful analysis on changes in size-class composition of urban population during the 90 years period since 1901, the last three categories (IV to VI) comprising the urban places having less than 20,000 population are grouped together and termed as small towns. The percentage of urban population of India (excluding Assam, Jammu & Kashmir) thus classified into four size-class categories during 1901-91 are presented in Table-3.

A perusal of figures contained in this Table and also of the Figure—Four brings out that during the first thirty years period, the proportion of urban population living in cities increased at a slower pace, fluctuated in the next two categories comprising large and medium towns and declined in the remaining category comprising small towns. In the next thirty years period, the proportion of urban population in cities increased considerably from one census to another census. In the next two categories of large and medium towns it reduced to some extent till 1951 followed by a modest increase in 1961. As against this, in the remaining category it reduced drastically i.e., from 40 to 20 per cent in the last phase of 30 years, while the proportion of urban population classified into the first category increased though at a comparatively slower pace than that noted in the earlier period, it reduced continuously in the remaining three categories of large, medium and small towns and this was most conspicuous in the last category where, it reduced from 20 per cent in 1961 to approximately 11 per cent in 1991.

As a result of these changes while the proportion of urban population living in cities increased from little more than one-fourth to about two-third, it remained virtually stagnant in the large and medium towns' categories and reduced heavily i.e., from slightly less than half to around one-fourth only in the last category comprising small towns during the last 90 years period. Moreover, this reduction, was most outstanding in the size-class V comprising towns having 5,000-9,000 population.

Table 3 : Percentage Distribution of Urban Population by Size-Class of Towns/Urban Agglomerations in India\*, since 1901

Census Year	Cities (I-100,000 or More)	Large Towns (II-50,000- 99,999)	Medium Towns (III- 20,000- 49,999)	All (IV-VI) (Less than 20,000)	Small Towns		
					IV (10,000- 19,999)	V (5,000- 9,999)	VI (Less than 5,000)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1901	26.00	11.29	15.64	47.07	20.83	20.14	6.10
1911	27.48	10.51	16.40	45.61	19.73	19.31	6.57
1921	29.70	10.39	15.92	43.99	18.29	18.67	7.03
1931	31.20	11.65	16.80	40.35	18.00	17.14	5.21
1941	38.23	11.42	16.35	34.00	15.78	15.08	3.14
1951	44.63	9.96	15.72	29.69	13.63	12.97	3.09
1961	51.42	11.23	16.94	20.41	12.77	6.87	0.77
1971	57.24	10.92	16.01	15.83	10.94	4.45	0.44
1981	60.42	11.63	14.33	13.62	9.54	3.58	0.50
1991	65.20	10.95	13.19	10.66	7.77	2.60	0.29

NOTE : \*Excluding Assam and Jammu & Kashmir where, Census was not held in 1981 and 1991 respectively.

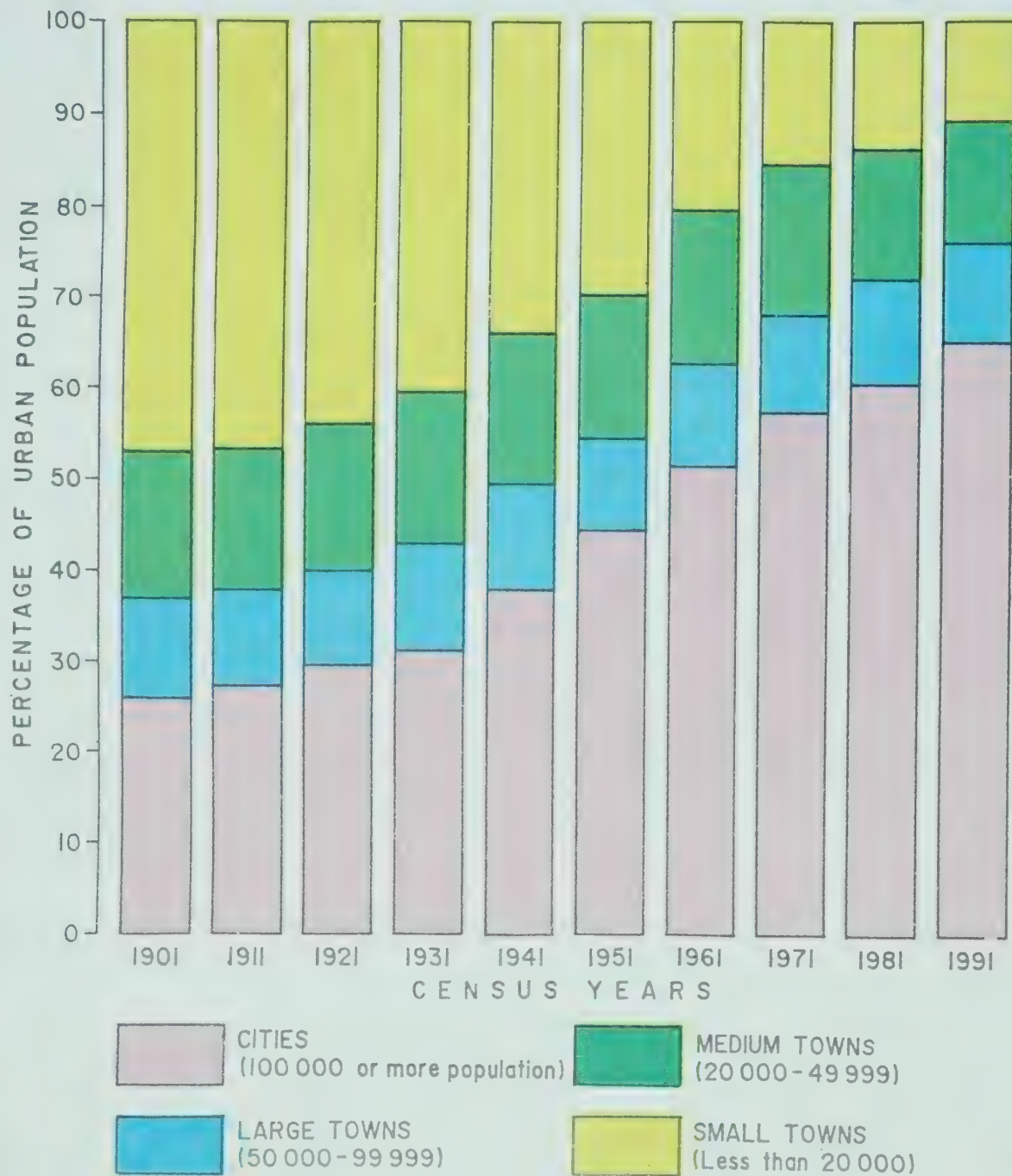
Source: Same as for Table-1 (p. 32).





Figure.IV

# **INDIA** **PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN POPULATION BY** **SIZE - CLASS OF TOWNS / URBAN AGGLOMERATIONS** **1901 - 91**







This phenomenon of increasing concentration of urban population in cities is even more explicitly reflected through the increase in number and population of cities having one million and more population commonly known as 'million+' cities. Figures provided in Table-4 thus indicate that the number of such cities has increased from 1 in 1901 to 23 in 1991 whereas, the population living in such places increased from 1.5 million to 70.7 million in course of last 90 years. As a result, the percentage of urban population living in such places has increased from 6 in 1901 to 32.5 in 1991. It may also be seen from the Figure—Five that the tendency of growing concentration has become most conspicuous at the last census when this proportion registered 6 per cent point growth. This increased pace of concentration of urban population in the cities and particularly in the Million+ cities implies that the economic activities are gradually getting localised in such places as well as in the surrounding areas of such places. Cities thus, are attracting more and more people from rural areas and also from the remaining towns. Apart from this, due to spread of industrial and other economic activities in the vicinity of large cities, a large number of new towns, as will be discussed in the next Section, have also emerged around such places. This trend is indicative of the fact that urbanisation process in India is gradually being transformed into the process of 'concentrated urbanisation' as every third urbanite was enumerated in the cities, at the time of 1991 Census.



**Table 4 : Number and Population of Million+ Cities\* in India\*\* as well as Percentage of Urban Population Living in such Places 1901-1991**

Census Year	Number	Population (fig. in million)	% of Pop. w.r.t. Urban Pop.
1	2	3	4
1901	1	1.51	5.84
1911	2	2.76	10.65
1921	2	3.13	11.14
1931	2	3.41	10.18
1941	2	5.31	12.23
1951	5	11.75	18.81
1961	7	18.10	22.93
1971	9	27.83	25.51
1981	12	42.12	26.41
1991	23	70.66	32.54

**NOTES :**

\*Million+ cities include urban agglomeration classified on the basis of their total population. Further, only those cities/urban agglomerations which had one million and more population are termed as 'million+' cities.

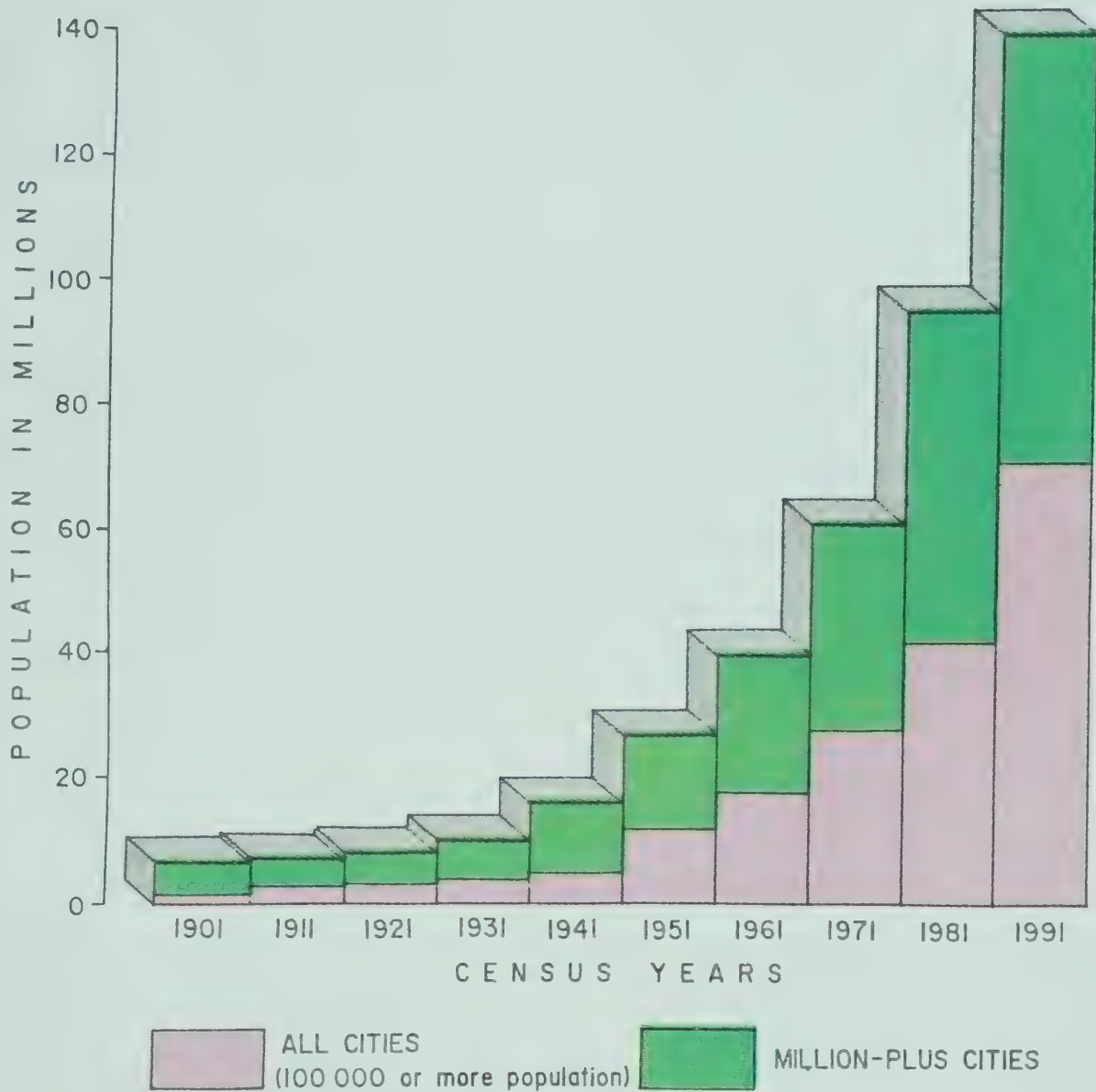
\*\*Excluding Assam and Jammu and Kashmir.

Source(s): Same as for Table 1 (p.38).

Figure.V

# INDIA

## POPULATION OF ALL CITIES AND MILLION PLUS CITIES 1901 - 91







Corresponding changes in the size-class composition of urban population of the States and Union Territories may be discerned for a decade from the figure given in Appendix Table-2. It is noticed from this Appendix Table that the proportion of urban population living in cities increased in the majority of the States but this increase was quite pronounced (i.e., more than 10 percent points) in Kerala only. Further, in some of the major States viz., Haryana, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal, it increased at a slower pace i.e., by less than 5 percent points. Apart from these, in Bihar and some other smaller States namely Manipur, Meghalaya, Tripura and Union Territory of Pondicherry, the proportion of urban population living in cities declined during the decade owing to a faster pace of population growth in the other categories of towns besides the addition of a relatively large number of new towns in the last category in some of these States. As regards the changes in percent distribution of urban population classified into remaining three categories comprising large, medium and small towns it may be seen from the Figure—Six that by and large, this proportion has declined in a majority of the States with certain exceptions noted in one category or the other.

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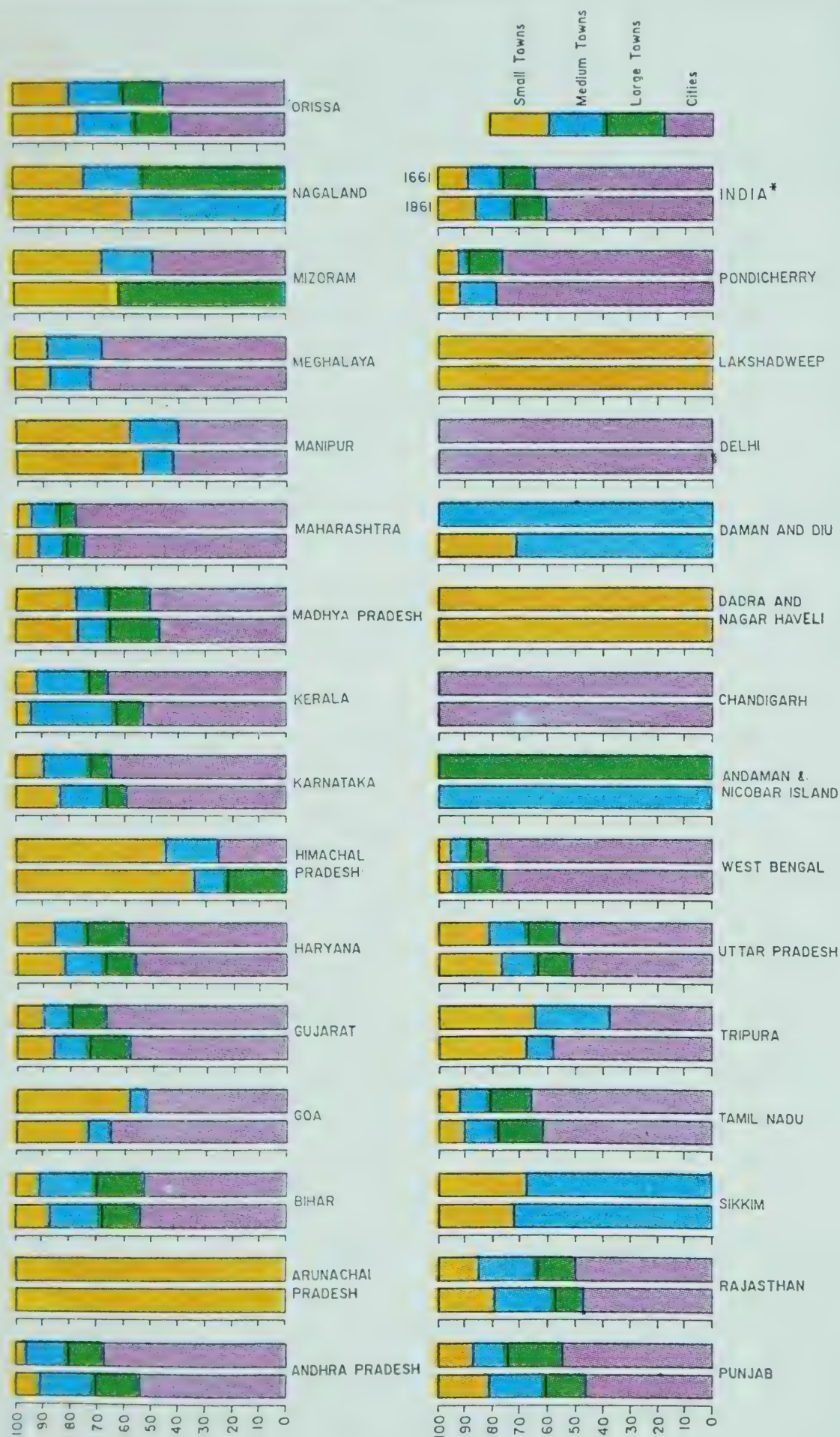




Figure.VI

PERCENTAGE OF URBAN POPULATION LIVING IN CITIES, LARGE, MEDIUM AND SMALL TOWNS IN STATES AND UNION TERRITORIES

1981 - 91







## SECTION—III

### DYNAMICS OF URBAN POPULATION GROWTH

Urban population growth is a very complex phenomenon. Factors influencing urban growth as explained in the first Section, have changed considerably since the early historical period and the contemporary urban growth in India is a legacy of British rule when the introduction of railways in the second half of the 19th Century coupled with the establishment of new port towns led to an enormous growth in overseas trade and commerce. This in turn caused rapid growth of primate cities during the later period and these cities still continue to dominate the urban scene. A probe into these aspects of urban growth is, however, beyond the purview of the limited scope of present enquiry. Instead, it is intended here in this Section, to present a brief analysis on the three main components of urban population growth namely, natural increase, migration and areal reclassification. This is followed by an analysis of growth pattern of cities and towns as well as of urban population concentrations. As a prelude to this analysis changes in urban frame resulting from the addition and deletion of towns at the time of recent censuses are discussed in the following paragraphs:

#### **(a) Changes in Urban Frame—addition and deletion of towns**

Updating the list of towns forms an integral part of the preparations for the conduct of a new census. In the process, certain places treated as the new towns by virtue of their being qualified to be treated as the towns due to statutory notification



or due to attainment of the minimum population size, density and required proportion of male working population engaged in the non-agricultural pursuits are added to the existing list. Simultaneously, some urban places which either lose their civic status due to statutory notification or fail to qualify the prescribed eligibility tests are deleted from the said list besides the merger of certain adjoining rural-urban areas due to extension of statutory limits of the existing places. To illustrate, there were 4,029 towns in India as per the 1981 Census. Out of these 93 were declassified in 1991, and 103 of the remaining were merged with the other adjoining towns. Thus, 3,833 towns of 1981 continued in 1991. Besides, 856 places were treated as new towns thereby, increasing the total number of towns to 4,689 in 1991. Further details regarding the addition and deletion of towns in 1991 as well as at the earlier 3 censuses of 1961, 1971 and 1981 are provided in Table 5. It may be discerned from this Table that there was a sudden spurt in the number of new towns in 1981 preceded by a steady growth in number of such places at the preceding two censuses of 1961 and 1971. This was mainly due to addition of 383 towns in the State of Uttar Pradesh. Out of these, as explained in an earlier study (Census of India, Occ. Paper 1 of 1986), 305 new towns in fact, had a legitimate claim to be treated as such in 1971 but were somehow overlooked and hence were treated so in 1981. As against this, a rigorous application of the concept and definition of town in 1961 resulted in the declassification of a large number of towns. In this case too, the maximum number (222) was from Uttar Pradesh alone. Further, while the total population living in new towns varied around million in the last two censuses and around 0.5 million at the earlier 2 censuses, those of the declassified towns reduced drastically from 4.4 million to 1.1 million during 1961-71 followed by a gradual

reduction thereafter to less than 1 million and 0.7 million at the 1981 and 1991 censuses. (Figures—Seven and Eight).

**Table 5 : Number and Population of New and Declassified Towns in India, 1961-1991.**

Category	1961	1971	1981*	1991**
1	2	3	4	5
(i) New Towns (+)				
Number	497	599	1047	828
Population (in '000s)	4807	5743	10747	10530
(ii) Declassified Towns				
Number	803	131	98	93
Population (in '000s)	4386	1148	962	706
at the preceding census				

**NOTES :**

(+) Including the Population of Outgrowths (if any) of such towns in 1971, 1981 and 1991.

(\*) Excluding Assam.

(\*\*) Excluding 16 new towns of Jammu and Kashmir and 12 other new towns of various states which were treated as such due to bifurcation/trifurcation of the towns which continued since 1981 or earlier.

*Source (s) :* (i) Census of India, Occasional Paper-1 of 1986, Study on Distribution of Infrastructural Facilities...Levels and Trends of Urbanisation, p. 327, and

(ii) Census of India 1991, Paper-2 of 1991, Provisional Population Totals: Rural-Urban Distribution, pp. 363-69.





Figure.VII

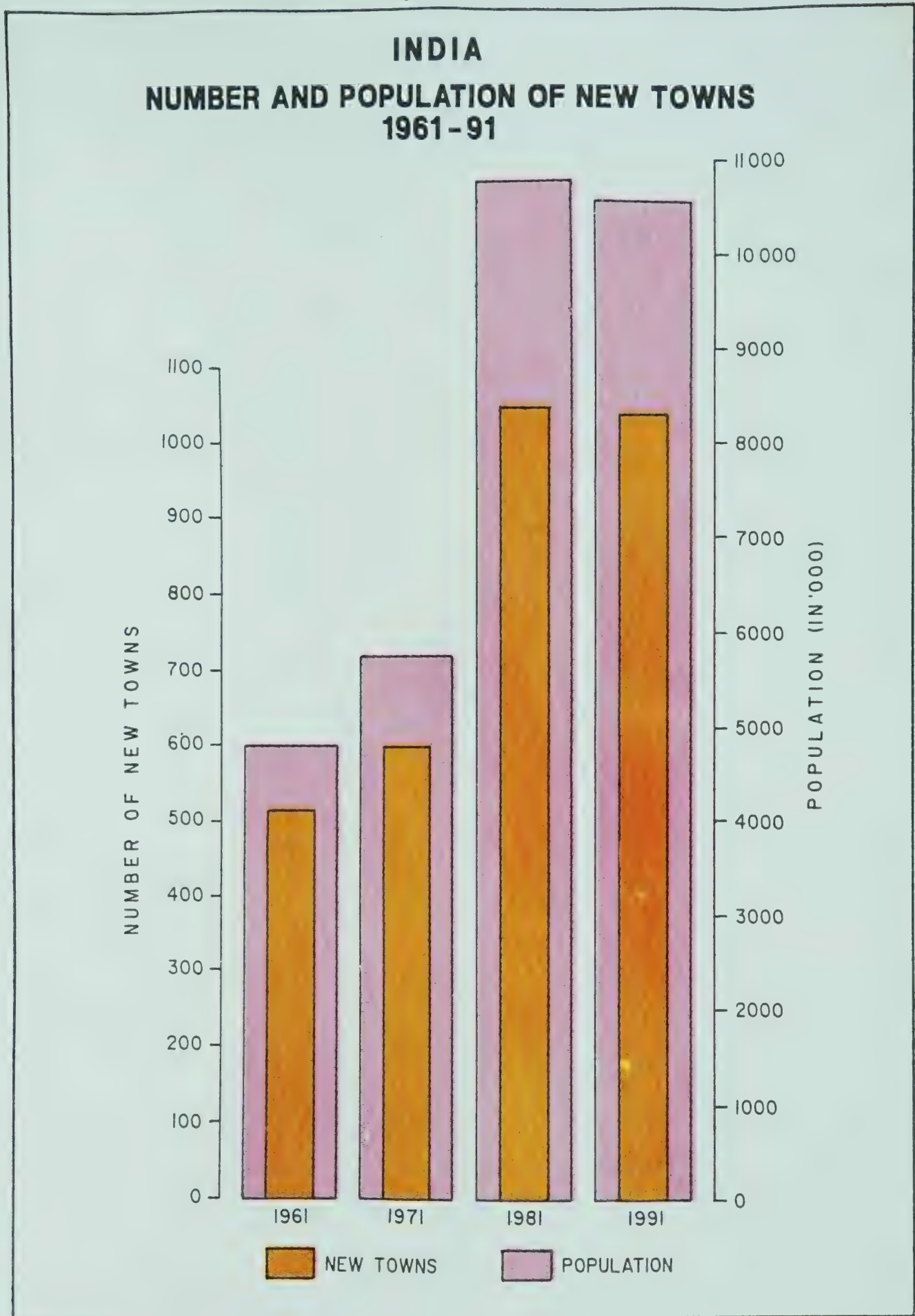
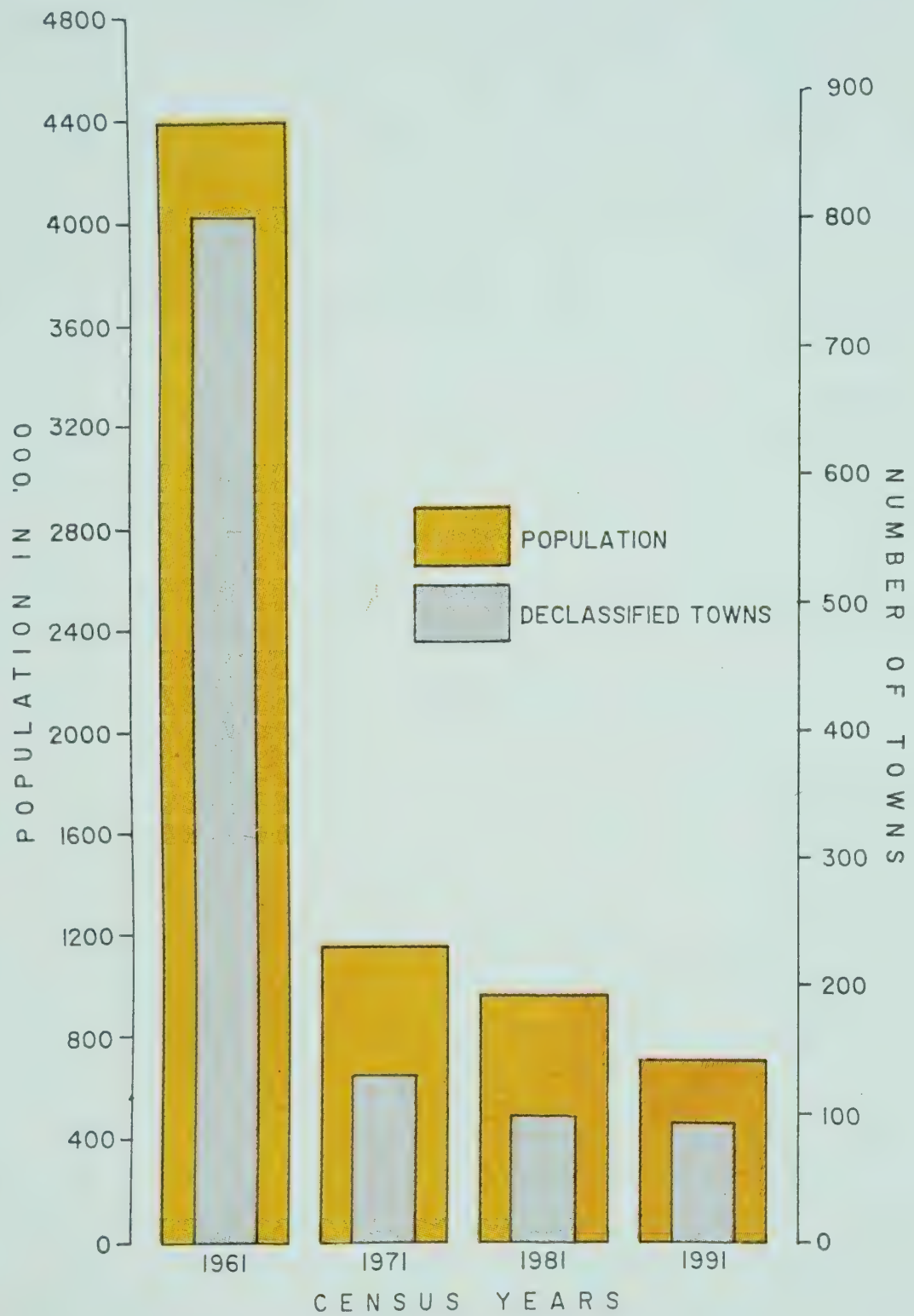






Figure.VIII

# INDIA NUMBER AND POPULATION OF DECLASSIFIED TOWNS 1961-91







Among the major States, as may be seen from the Appendix Table 3 and 4, number of declassified towns declined gradually with certain exceptions and notable among these is Punjab where the maximum number of towns (21) have been declassified in 1991 as against none in 1981. This was followed by Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka where, number of such towns was considerably large in 1991 than those declassified at the preceding census. Growth in the number of new towns, on the other hand, fluctuated widely among the major States during this period. For example, while in Bihar, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and West Bengal, number of new towns increased during the last decade with certain exceptions at one or other census. In some other major States, it declined over the last two censuses preceded by an increase at the earlier censuses. Further variations in regard to number and population of declassified and new towns in all the States and Union Territories may be discerned from the given Appendix Tables 3 and 4.

#### **(b) Components of Urban Population Growth**

The urban population of India has increased from 25.8 million in 1901 to 62.4 million in 1951 and 217.2 million in 1991 thereby showing a more than eight-time multiplication in it. The annual exponential growth rates for the last 9 decades further indicate to considerable amount of variations over the decades. These variations in growth rates are due to varying amount of contributions of the 3 major components of urban population growth namely, natural increase i.e., births *minus* deaths, net migration, i.e., immigration to urban areas *minus* outmigration from urban areas and areal reclassification i.e., addition of new towns *minus* declassification of existing towns. Besides, the extension of boundaries of towns also tend to influence the growth. However, it is of a small magnitude in most of the cases.

The relative share of each of these components during the last 3 decades, since 1961 have been estimated for India as a whole and for its major States. For this purpose, the rates of natural increase estimated from the Sample Registration



Scheme (SRS) data on Births and Deaths have been used for the last two decades of 1971-81 and 1981-91. The same were not available for the 1961-71 decade as the SRS was introduced on a full scale in 1969 and the estimates available from the Civil Registration System were hardly reliable. In view of this fact, the estimate of volume of intercensal net migration is obtained by using the data on duration of residence of the persons at the place of enumeration cross classified by place of last residence in 1971.

The estimated population growth attributable to natural increase, net (internal) migration and areal reclassification along with the percentage share of these three factors are presented in Table-6. The figures given in this Table clearly indicate a significant rise in the contribution of natural increase towards urban population growth in the course of last two decades after an abrupt fall in it earlier. In other words, it indicates a significant reduction in the contribution of net migration towards urban population growth during 1981-91 as compared to that of the preceding decade. The population accounted by the reclassification, on the other hand, doubled in the first two decades, i.e., from 4.6 million to 9.3 million and remained almost the same, i.e., 9.6 million during 1981-91. Its proportionate share in urban population growth as may also be seen from Figure—Nine increased very little from 15.2 to 18.8 percent during the earlier two decades and declined by approximately .2 percent points during 1981-91.

Table 6: Estimates of Relative Share of Natural Increase, Net Migration and Reclassification in the Decadal Urban Growth of India, 1961-1991\*

Category	Decade		
	1961—71**	1971—81+	1981—91+
1	2	3	4
TOTAL URBAN POPULATION			
GROWTH (in millions)	30.18	49.45	56.45
ESTIMATED SHARE (fig. in millions)			
Natural increase	19.65	20.40	33.86
Net Migration	5.91	19.73	12.73
Reclassification	4.59	9.32	9.82
% SHARE OF			
Natural increase	65.21	41.75	59.98
Net Migration	19.58	39.40	22.62
Reclassification	15.21	18.85	17.40

NOTES :

- (\*) Excluding Assam and Jammu & Kashmir for the last 2 decades of 1971-81 and 1981-91.
- (\*\*) Figures pertaining to Natural Increase refers to the residual i.e., Urban growth - number of net intercensal migrants and the Population added due to reclassification of towns as new and declassified towns.
- (+) Figures on net migration have been derived by subtracting the estimated number of persons added on account of Natural Increase and Reclassification.

Source(s):

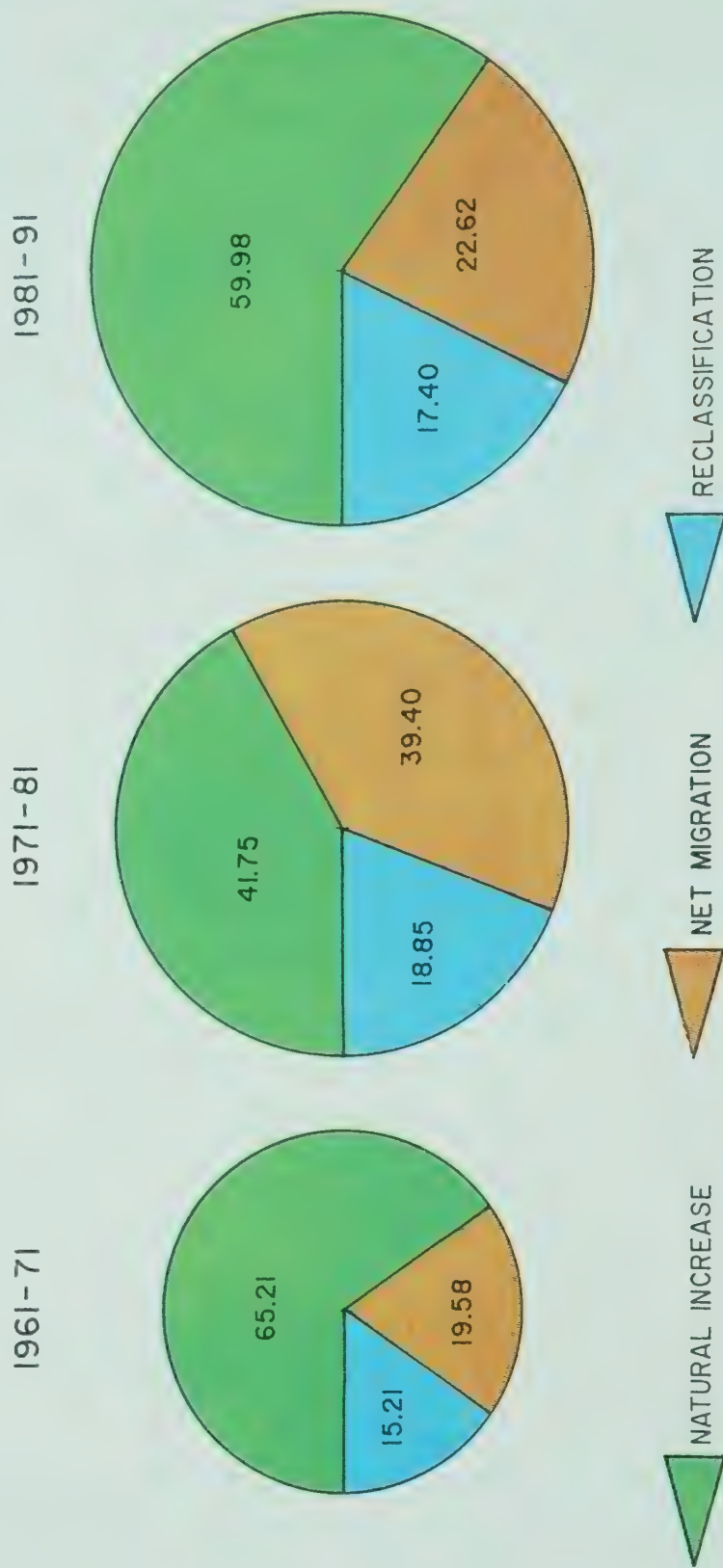
- (i) Census Of India, Occasional Paper-1 of 1986, "Study on Distribution of Infrastructural Facilities.....Levels and Trends Of Urbanization," pp. 78-79, 346—350.
- (ii) Census of India, 1981, Part II-A General Population Tables pp. 1045—1111.
- (iii) Computed from Census of India, 1991, Paper No. 2 of 1991 Provisional Population Totals: Rural—Urban Distribution pp. 56-57 and 171—369.





Figure.IX

**INDIA**  
**ESTIMATED PERCENTAGE SHARE OF NATURAL INCREASE,**  
**NET MIGRATION AND RECLASSIFICATION**  
**IN THE DECADAL URBAN GROWTH**



NOTE: CIRCLES ARE PROPORTIONATE TO DECADAL URBAN GROWTH.





As regards the variations in the percentage share of these three factors in the decadal urban population growth among the major States, a perusal of Table-7 and Figure—Ten brings out that the contribution of natural increase appears to have increased considerably in the last decade after a decline in it during the earlier decade. Noteworthy States among these are Bihar, Karnataka, Punjab and Tamil Nadu where, 75 percent and more of the urban population growth during the last decade appears to have been accounted by this factor alone. In Tamil Nadu, this proportion is even more than nine-tenth. Further, the contribution of net migration is found to be on the negative side in Bihar and Tamil Nadu the proportion of net migration as worked out by separating out the proportion attributable to the natural increase and areal reclassification from the urban population growth comes to (—) 11 percent in Bihar and in case of Tamil Nadu, it is slightly more than (—) 2 percent thereby showing a large volume of outmigration than the immigration to the urban areas of these States in the last decade. Apart from these, in Kerala also, its share is quite insignificant i.e., little more than 1 percent only. While the negative role of net migration towards the urban population growth in Bihar and Tamil Nadu shows that the growth potential of urban areas in these States have diminished considerably, probably due to stagnation in urban economy in these States. In Kerala, a relatively insignificant share of this factor could partly be explained by considering the increasing pace of outmigration of educated people from rural as well as urban areas to the other States within India and to other countries particularly to the Gulf countries. Out of the remaining major States, Maharashtra and West Bengal have shown a considerably large share (around 30 percent) of the net migration. This large share of net migration towards the urban population growth in these two States is indicative of the fact that Bombay and Calcutta are still attracting a large number of migrants who are getting absorbed if not in these megacities then in the cities and towns situated in the respective city regions. Lastly, the contribution of the third factor namely, areal reclassification towards the state's urban population

growth also shows wide fluctuations over the decades. For example, while in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Madhya Pradesh, it increased continuously over the decades, Gujarat and Orissa showed an opposite trend. Moreover, its contribution towards the state's population growth in the last decade is found to be most significant (more than two-third) in Kerala only. Apart from this, a few other states namely, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal also have shown a relatively large share (i.e., between 20 and 30 percent) of this factor in the urban population growth during the last decade. In Punjab, on the other hand, there appears to be a negative role of this factor in the State's urban population growth. This is because, as explained earlier, at the time of last census, number and population of the declassified towns has been significantly higher than those added as the new towns.



Table 7 : Percentage Share of Natural Increase, Net Migration (Internal) and Areal Reclassification in the Decadal Urban Population Growth in India\* & its Major States during 1961-71\*\* 1971-81, 1981-91

India/State	1981-91+			1971-81+			1961-71**		
	NI	NM	AR	NI	NM	AR	NI	NM	AR
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
INDIA	59.98	22.62	17.40	41.75	39.40	18.85*	65.17	19.60	15.23
Andhra Pradesh	54.50	28.47	17.03	44.22	47.62	8.16	66.07	29.04	4.89
Bihar	85.51	(-)-10.85	25.34	N.A.	-	10.58	35.93	24.83	39.24
Gujarat	69.90	20.21	9.89	51.91	36.16	11.93	64.36	18.26	17.38
Haryana	62.08	27.23	10.69	36.49	38.01	25.50	77.85	16.13	6.02
Karnataka	74.84	12.32	12.84	33.45	55.32	11.23	74.34	15.69	9.97
Kerala	29.86	1.40	68.74	51.68	7.79	40.53	49.96	(-)-12.06	62.10
Madhya Pradesh	56.83	14.28	28.89	39.80	40.10	20.10	69.46	19.79	10.75
Maharashtra	56.96	30.52	12.52	46.52	48.46	5.02	60.03	32.21	7.76
Orissa	60.70	24.80	14.50	29.18	48.95	21.87	30.97	39.92	29.11
Punjab	81.54	23.37	(-)-4.91	45.38	39.90	14.72	84.90	12.94	2.16
Rajasthan	65.26	25.95	8.79	38.51	41.42	20.07	81.95	8.23	9.82
Tamil Nadu	92.44	(-)-2.31	9.87	61.13	33.06	5.81	72.48	13.59	13.93
Uttar Pradesh	62.82	27.22	9.96	33.65	23.40	42.95	75.56	8.28	16.16
West Bengal	50.00	29.71	20.29	N.A.	-	18.87	64.18	17.02	18.80

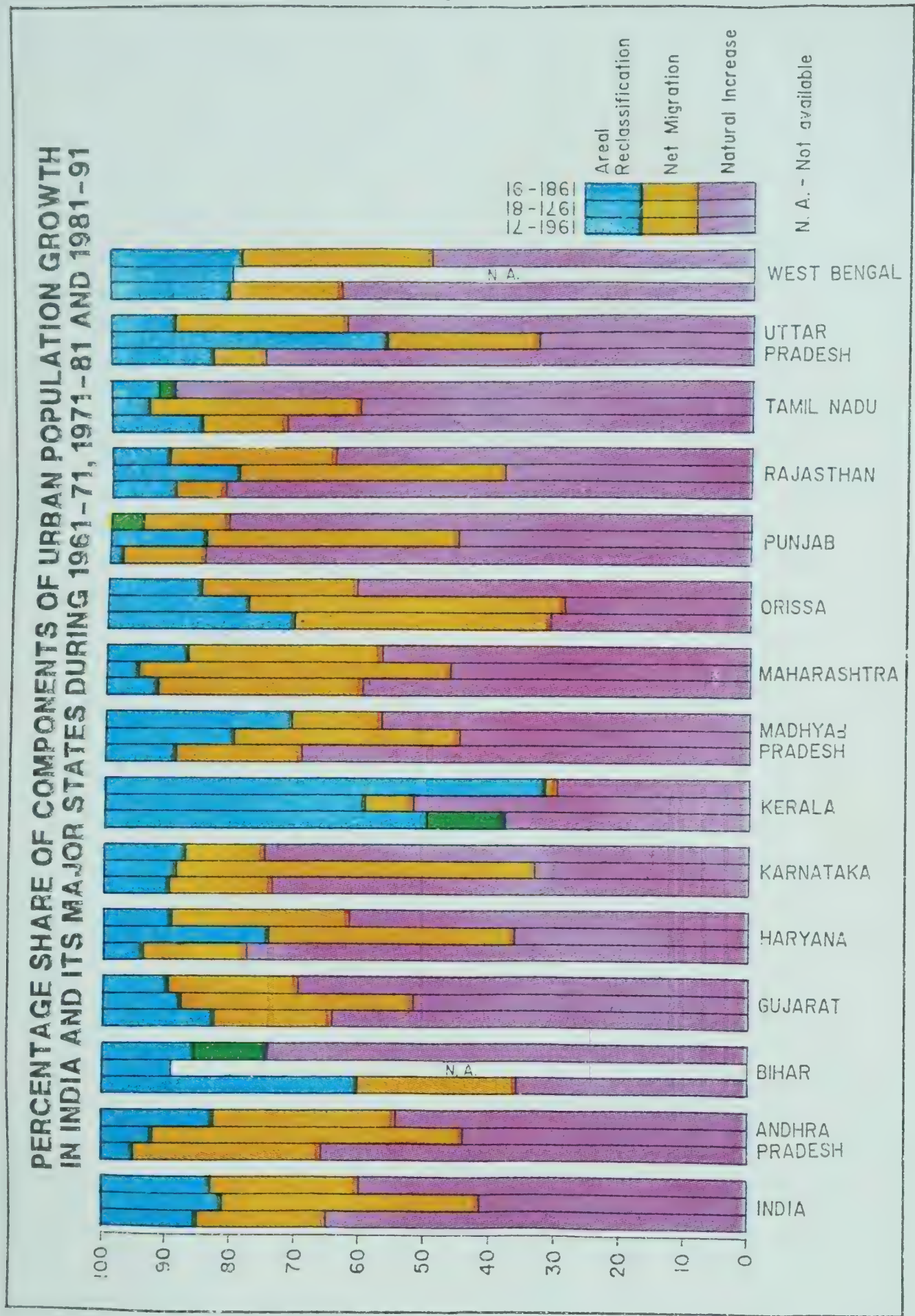
NOTE : (1) NI—Natural Increase : NM—Net Migration: AR—Areal Reclassification and NA—Not Available.

(2) For footnotes and source(s) please see Table-6.





Figure. X







### (c) Growth Patterns of Cities and Towns

Urban population growth as is explicit from the preceding discussion, has varied over the decades. Further disaggregation even for a single decade reveals more variations in its pace amongst the size-class categories of urban places. For example, it is evident from the figures on decadal percent population change of the four categories presented in Table-8 that the first category comprising cities has experienced a comparatively faster pace than the remaining three categories of towns during the last two decades whereas, during the 1961-71 decade, large towns experienced a higher rate of population growth than the cities. Furthermore, the percent population changes in case of last category comprising the small towns have always remained considerably lower than those of the cities, as well as large, medium and small towns. The disparity between these growth rates is most conspicuous in the last decade when the small towns' category registered merely 6 percent increase as against 25 and 28 percent growth in the population of the preceding two categories comprising the medium and large towns. Another interesting feature to be noted in this regard is the fact that the decadal percent population changes of all the categories of cities and towns have been found to be lower in the last decade when compared to that of 1971-81. These variations are largely due to the fact that while computing the growth rates for different categories, population living in the respective size class categories at the two points of time are considered and as such these are heavily influenced by the inter-class mobility of towns and also by the inclusion/exclusion of population arising out of changes in the urban frame over the two points of time. In order to obtain a more realistic position in regard to the growth patterns of cities and towns, decadal growth rates of urban places classified into the above mentioned four size-class categories at the beginning of each of the three decades are reported in the Table-8. While these growth rates have been reproduced from the Paper 2 of 1991 (Census of India, 1991) for the last decade, the same for the earlier two decades have been reproduced from an earlier study (Census of India : Occasional Paper-I of 1986). A cursory glance at these figures makes it amply clear that differentials between the growth rates of cities, large, medium and small towns have not been very significant in any of the three decades.



Table 8 : Decadal Percent Change in the Population of Cities and Towns as measured through Instantaneous and Continuous Approaches for India, 1961-71, 1971-81 and 1981-91

Category/ Population Size	Instantaneous <sup>1</sup>			Continuous <sup>2</sup>		
	1981-91*	1971-81	1961-71	1981-91*	1971-81	1961-71
	2	3	4	5	6	7
Cities (100,000 and above)	46.87	55.55	51.98	34.49	37.16	36.07
Large Towns (50,000-99,999)	28.14	46.09	54.38	31.60	37.33	33.79
Medium Towns (20,000-49,999)	25.30	34.74	26.65	29.57	38.47	33.33
Small Towns (Less than 20,000 pop)	6.38	22.60	13.71	29.32	37.97	32.34
Total	36.09	44.51	38.23	32.81	37.56	34.43

NOTES :

\* Excluding Jammu & Kashmir

(1) Instantaneous : Percent Population Change computed by considering the population classified in to a particular size-class category at the two points of time i.e., at the beginning and end of a decade.

(2) Continuous : Percent Population Change computed by considering the decadal variation in population of only those cities and towns which were belonging to a particular size-class at the beginning of the respective decade.

Source(s) : 1. Census of India 1991, Paper-2, Provisional Population Totals :

Rural-Urban Distribution, pp. 387-393 and 419-425.

2. Census of India, Occasional Paper-1 of 1986, Study on Distribution of Infrastructural Facilities..... Levels and Trends of Urbanisation, pp. 351-353 and 354-356.



Among the major States, as may be seen from the Appendix Table-5, the growth rates computed by using instantaneous approach varied widely from one size-class to another. For example, in the first category, the percent population change during the last decade varied from less than 30 percent in Bihar and Tamil Nadu to more than 100 percent in Kerala, from (—) 21 percent in West Bengal to almost 100 percent in Haryana in the second category and from approximately (—) 18 percent in Punjab and approximately (—) 4 percent in Kerala to more than 50 percent in Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh in the third category. In the last category comprising small towns, it showed a decline in a number of States followed by less than 21 percent growth in other major States except Kerala (116), Madhya Pradesh (44) and Orissa (21). Similar type of variations in these rates may also be discerned for the earlier two decades of 1961-71 and 1971-81. These fluctuations in the growth rates, as explained earlier, are vastly due to the influence of inter-class mobility of towns affecting the upper size class categories and inclusion/exclusion of towns affecting the lower size class categories.

As against these wide fluctuations, growth rates, computed for the cohorts of cities and towns falling under different categories at the beginning of each of the three decades, which have been presented in Appendix Table-6 reveal a more cohesive pattern. For example, the pace of population growth in case of first category varied from less than 25 percent in Tamil Nadu, West Bengal and Bihar to more than 40 percent in Haryana and Andhra Pradesh. These rates for the remaining three categories are found to be the lowest in Tamil Nadu where these are around 14 percent in case of large and medium towns and 16 percent in case of small towns' categories. The highest, on the other hand, is found in Kerala (62 percent) in case of large towns and in West Bengal in case of medium and small towns categories (42 and 43 percent respectively). A comparison of these rates with those computed for the earlier two decades reveals that by and large the pace of population change has declined in all the categories and over the three decades with certain exceptions noted in Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh



and West Bengal in case of cities, in Gujarat and West Bengal in case of large towns, in Kerala (for medium towns) and in West Bengal (for small towns). Another interesting feature to be noted in this regard is the fact that, these rates do not reveal either consistent increase or decrease along with the corresponding population size-classes of the urban places in all the States barring a few exceptions noted in a few States during one decade or other. Lastly, the pace of population growth among medium and small towns has remained pretty close to that of the cities and large towns in a majority of the States in the earlier two decades of 1961-71 and 1971-81. Whereas, in the last decade, this tendency does not emerge very explicitly. This is due to the fact that unlike the preceding two decades, growth rates for the cities and towns during the last decade are reproduced from the Paper 2 of 1991 (Census of India, 1991) which have been computed by treating urban agglomerations at par with other towns on the basis of their respective population. As a result, one-third of new towns which have been treated as parts of such agglomerations in 1991 are inadvertently included in the cohorts of towns under different size classes. Strictly speaking, for calculating the growth rates of cohorts of towns, all the new towns irrespective of the fact that whether they are part of urban agglomerations or not should have been omitted. The revised calculation made in this regard by excluding these towns for India as a whole are presented in Table-9 which shows that the growth rates of cohorts of cities and towns classified into the above mentioned size class categories do not reveal any significant amount of variation in different size classes even during the last decade. In other words, these rates follow a similar pattern as noted for the earlier two decades from the figures provided in the preceding Table. It thus emerges from the preceding analysis that neither cities have registered a rapid pace of population growth, nor the small towns have shown any stagnation or a decline in India in the course of last thirty years period.

**Table 9 : Reported and Adjusted\* Decadal Percent Population Change among Cities and Towns of 1981 during 1981-91**

Category	Reported Rate	Adjusted Rate
1 .	2	3
Cities	34.49	30.19
Large Towns	31.60	30.02
Medium Towns	29.57	28.75
Small Towns	29.32	28.73
Total	32.81	29.78

NOTE :

- \* Rate computed by keeping the frame of urban agglomeration (which have been treated at par with other cities/towns) under respective categories as constant during the decade. In other words, those constituent towns of the UAs which were treated so for the first time at the 1991 Census have been excluded.

*Source(s):* Same as for Table 8.





## SECTION—IV

### MAJOR FINDINGS

From the foregoing analysis of the 1991 Census results pertaining to trends of urbanisation, first thing which immediately draws the attention is the fact that the tempo of urbanisation has slowed down during the decade. This is contrary to the expectation of a faster growth of urban population. Because, the urban trend of 70's had shown an increased momentum of urban growth and considering further the industrial development that has taken place during the Sixth and Seventh Five Year Plan Periods (1980-85 and 1986-90) it was expected that the trend of urban growth exhibited during the earlier decade will continue. However, not only the pace of urban population growth but the quantum of increase in the tempo of urbanisation have belied the expectation. This is further borne out by the preliminary estimate of relative share of net migration towards urban population growth which revealed a significant reduction during the last decade at the all India level and in all the major States except Uttar Pradesh.

Another feature which has emerged from the foregoing analysis relates to the fact that despite the continuing reduction in the disparities in the rates of population growth of cities, large, medium and small towns in recent time, the concentration of urban population in cities and particularly in the megacities such as Greater Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and Madras has increased continuously. This phenomenon of growing concentration of urban population is an outcome of a number of factors. To begin with, though the rate of population growth of cities during the last decade was comparatively slower than the preceding decade i.e., 30 percent as against 37 percent by virtue of their large population size, net addition in terms of absolute numbers has been tremendous. To wit, out of the total increase of 58 million persons in the urban areas of the country,

44 million persons were added in the cities only and these accounted for three-fourth of the total urban population growth. Further out of these, 28 million persons were added in the category of million+cities alone which accounted for about two-third (i.e., 64 percent) of cities' population growth and half of the entire urban population growth. This rapid increase in terms of absolute numbers, is largely due to the fact that the process of rural-urban migration in India, as in a number of developing and developed countries, is primarily directed towards large urban centres.

Yet another interesting feature of urban development in India, as revealed by the 1991 Census and which has made a major contribution towards the concentration, is the fact that one-third of the new towns comprising 45 percent of the new towns' total population in 1991 are the constituent towns of city agglomerations. Apart from these, the emergence of outgrowths around such cities at the recent censuses as well as the annexation of adjoining areas through the merger of more than 100 towns and a still large number of villages have also contributed to some extent. However, the extent of such contribution could not be worked out due to non-availability of data at this stage.



## CONCLUSION

To sum up, it may be stated that these twin features namely, slowing down of the pace of urbanisation and emergence of a large number of new urban settlements at the city periphery are indicative of the fact that despite a long cherished goal of integrated development of medium and small towns and various efforts to translate these goals into reality, the urban scenario as depicted by the 1991 Census, exhibits the concentrated urbanisation pattern as the most conspicuous feature of the urban development. It further implies that in near future, due to economies of scales, the large cities will continue to grow both inward as well as outward i.e., the sub-urbanisation will take place along with the growth of large urban centres themselves. This is due to spread of industrialisation and other ancillary economic activities in the neighbouring areas of such places. Besides the transformation of rural areas into urban, it is also revealed by the differentials in the urban-rural growth rates that, the rural areas adjacent to the large metros particularly megacity like Delhi have experienced a most rapid population growth during the last decade which was almost double to that noted for the Delhi urban agglomeration. This tendency is also expected to be observed in the remaining three megacities (Bombay, Calcutta and Madras) and other metropolitan areas from the data to be published in due course on growth of rural and urban population within the Standard Urban Areas (SUAs). Because, the SUAs which were initially delineated in 1971, comprise not only the towns and villages which will get merged into them but also the intervening rural areas which are potentially urban and are thus, expected to be fully urbanised within next couple of decades.



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Appendix Table 1 : Number and Population of Towns and Urban Agglomerations, Level of Urbanisation and Growth Rate of Urban and Rural Population in India by States and Union Territories, 1981—1991

Sl. No.	India/State/UT	Towns of 1991	Percent of Urban to Total Pop.	Average Annual Exponential Growth Rate						
				1981	1991	1971—81		1981—91		
1	2	3	4	5	6	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	
			Number Population (in 000's)							
	INDIA	3768	217177*	23.34	25.72	3.83	1.78	3.09	1.80	
	States									
1	Andhra Pradesh	213	17813	23.32	26.84	3.96	1.57	3.55	1.67	
2	Arunachal Pradesh	10	105	6.56	12.21	8.74	2.71	9.28	2.44	
3	Assam	87	2471	9.88	11.08	3.27@	2.00	3.27@	1.98	
4	Bihar	211	11369	12.47	13.17	4.37	1.88	2.65	2.03	
5	Goa	26	479	32.03	41.02	4.66	1.47	3.96	0.06	
6	Gujarat	225	14164	31.10	34.40	3.47	2.01	2.90	1.39	
7	Haryana	90	4045	21.88	24.79	4.67	2.00	3.58	1.85	
8	Himachal Pradesh	55	445	7.61	8.70	2.98	2.06	3.11	1.65	
9	Jammu & Kashmir	72	1839*	21.05	23.83	—	—	—	—	
10	Karnataka	254	13851	28.89	30.91	4.10	1.75	2.55	1.58	
11	Kerala	109	7676	18.74	26.44	3.19	1.46	4.76	0.32	
12	Madhya Pradesh	433	15348	20.29	23.21	4.45	1.76	3.71	2.00	
13	Maharashtra	290	30496	35.03	38.73	3.36	1.62	3.27	0.35	
14	Manipur	30	506	26.42	27.69	9.76	1.16	2.98	2.34	
15	Meghalaya	7	329	18.07	18.69	4.95	2.36	2.74	2.77	

16	Mizoram	22	317	24.67	46.20	11.71	2.37	9.57	(-)0.07
17	Nagaland	9	210	15.52	17.28	8.50	3.42	5.58	4.29
18	Orissa	119	4232	11.79	13.43	5.22	1.46	3.08	1.59
19	Punjab	120	6001	27.68	29.72	3.68	1.61	2.56	1.56
20	Rajasthan	215	10040	21.05	22.88	4.62	2.43	3.31	2.24
21	Sikkim	8	37	16.15	9.12	9.54	3.33	(-)3.29	3.50
22	Tamil Nadu	260	19027	32.95	34.20	2.47	1.22	1.76	1.20
23	Tripura	18	419	10.99	15.26	3.29	2.71	6.19	2.41
24	Uttar Pradesh	702	27653	17.95	19.89	4.74	1.80	3.29	2.02
25	West Bengal	160	18622	26.47	27.39	2.76	1.85	2.54	2.07

*Union Territories*

1	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	1	75	26.30	26.80	6.38	4.48	4.10	3.84
2	Chandigarh	1	575	93.63	89.69	5.96	1.68	3.07	8.32
3	Dadra & Nagar Haveli \$	1	12	6.67	8.47	—	3.38	5.28	2.69
4	Daman & Diu	2	48	36.75	46.86	2.12	2.47	4.93	0.76
5	Delhi	7	8427	92.73	89.93	4.58	0.77	3.79	7.35
6	Lakshadweep \$	4	29	46.28	56.29	—	2.37	4.46	0.44
7	Pondicherry	7	517	52.28	64.05	4.66	0.53	4.92	0.05

NOTES: @Interpolated using 1971 and 1991 Census figures.

\*Including projected population of Jammu & Kashmir where, Census is not held in 1991.

\$There was no Urban Area in 1971.

Source: Census of India, 1991 Series 1, Paper-2 of 1991, Provisional Population Totals: Rural-Urban Distribution, Pages 12, 15 and 51-52.



Appendix Table 2 : Percentage of Urban Population living in Cities, Large, Medium and Small Towns\* in the States and Union Territories, 1981—91.

Sl. No.	India/State/ Union Territory	Cities (100,000 and more) 1981	4	5	Large Towns (50,000—99,999) 1981	Med. Towns (20,000—49,999) 1981	8	Small Towns (Less than 20,000) 1981	10
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	INDIA(**)	60.42	65.20	11.63	10.95	14.33	13.19	13.62	10.66
	States								
1	Andhra Pradesh	53.76	66.88	16.15	12.60	20.80	16.53	9.29	3.99
2	Arunachal Pradesh	—	—	—	—	—	—	100.00	100.00
3	Bihar	54.18	52.62	14.36	17.58	19.23	20.80	12.23	9.00
4	Goa	—	—	65.61	51.84	8.05	6.59	26.34	41.57
5	Gujarat	58.03	66.43	14.50	12.73	13.33	10.52	14.14	10.32
6	Haryana	56.69	58.54	10.83	15.11	14.77	11.95	17.71	14.40
7	Himachal Pradesh	—	24.70	21.66	—	12.54	19.60	65.80	55.70
8	Karnataka	58.66	64.60	6.44	7.35	17.73	17.68	17.17	10.37
9	Kerala	53.14	66.34	9.51	7.22	31.87	19.08	5.48	7.36
10	Madhya Pradesh	46.79	50.38	18.02	13.94	12.25	12.82	22.94	22.86
11	Maharashtra	75.26	77.85	5.94	6.49	10.96	10.39	7.84	5.27
12	Manipur	41.72	39.66	—	—	11.18	17.96	47.10	42.38
13	Meghalaya	72.39	67.54	—	—	14.61	20.18	13.00	12.28
14	Mizoram	—	48.68	61.15	—	—	17.79	38.85	33.53
15	Nagaland	—	—	—	52.38	55.90	21.71	44.10	25.91
16	Orissa	41.63	44.43	12.77	14.65	21.81	19.73	23.79	21.19
17	Punjab	46.38	54.36	14.39	19.79	20.24	12.89	18.99	12.96



18	Rajasthan	46.82	50.09	10.00	13.67	21.94	21.31	21.24	14.93
19	Sikkim	—	—	—	—	71.93	67.52	28.07	32.48
20	Tamil Nadu	62.22	65.96	15.97	15.21	12.51	11.19	9.30	7.64
21	Tripura	58.60	37.62	—	—	9.22	27.59	32.18	34.79
22	Uttar Pradesh	51.40	55.99	12.43	11.46	12.65	13.94	23.52	18.61
23	West Bengal	77.04	81.71	10.74	6.58	7.45	7.66	4.77	4.05
<i>Union Territories</i>									
1	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	—	—	—	100.00	100.00	—	—	—
2	Chandigarh	100.00	100.00	—	—	—	—	—	—
3	Dadra and Nagar Haveli	—	—	—	—	—	—	100.00	100.00
4	Daman & Diu	—	—	—	—	72.37	100.00	27.63	—
5	Delhi	99.32	99.38	—	—	—	—	0.68	0.62
6	Lakshadweep	—	—	—	—	—	—	100.00	100.00
7	Pondicherry	79.55	77.64	—	11.97	13.74	3.93	6.71	6.46

NOTES: \*Including Urban Agglomeration which are treated at par with other Cities and Towns on the basis of their Total Population.

\*\*Excluding Assam and Jammu & Kashmir where no Census was held in 1981 and 1991 respectively.

Source: Same as for Table-2 (pp. 387—393).

Appendix Table 3 : Number and Population\* (in '000s) of Declassified Towns, in the States and Union Territories, 1961-91

India/State/UT	1991**		1981		1971		1961	
	No.	Population	No.	Population	No.	Population	No.	Population
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
INDIA	93	1	98	962	131	1148	803	4386
States**								
Andhra Pradesh	13	146	2	22	37	302	74	496
Assam	—	—	1	7	—	—	1	5
Bihar	2	6	12	92	—	—	5	33
Gujarat	—	—	7	44	11	79	74	429
Haryana	2	25	1	5	—	—	—	—
Himachal Pradesh	—	—	—	—	1	N	4	3
Jammu & Kashmir	—	—	1	2	5	17	—	—
Karnataka	19	176	10	60	9	106	85	429
Kerala	1	21	32	520	15	203	36	235
Madhya Pradesh	1	6	1	5	3	18	49	127
Maharashtra	11	78	13	72	—	—	128	862
Manipur	7	24	—	—	—	—	—	—
Orissa	1	6	1	5	2	16	—	—
Punjab	21	121	—	—	3	10	11	55
Rajasthan	2	20	—	—	—	—	84	362
Tamil Nadu	3	12	13	111	45	397	30	203

Uttar Pradesh	5	35	2	6	—	—	222	1147
West Bengal	3	16	2	11	—	—	—	—
All Union Territories	2	14	—	—	—	—	—	—

NOTES: \*Population of Declassified Towns is reported for the preceding Census.

\*\*Excluding those States where, not a single Town was declassified.

Source(s): (i) Census of India, Occasional Paper-1 of 1986, "Study on Distribution of Infrastructural Facilities.....Levels and Trends Of Urbanization," Page 327.

(ii) Census of India, Paper-2 of 1991, Provisional Population Totals, Rural-Urban Distribution, pp. 363—69.



Appendix Table 4: Number and Population (in '000s) of New Towns in the States and Union Territories, 1961-91\*

India/State/UT	1991			1981			1971			1961		
	No.	Population		No.	Population		No.	Population		No.	Population	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9				
INDIA	828**	10530	1047	10747†	599	5743	497	4807				
<i>States</i>												
Andhra Pradesh	37	1053	32	345	40	406	10	139				
Arunachal Pradesh	4	30	Included in Union Territories									
Assam	13	92	NA	NA	19	146	30	250				
Bihar	57	677	34	440	50	675	51	555				
Goa	16	125	Included in Union Territories									
Gujarat	29	352	48	414	49	458	17	146				
Haryana	15	155	19	274	4	28	2	10				
Himachal Pradesh	11	15	11	33	7	19	5	8				
Jammu & Kashmir	NA	NA	14	75	7	24	18	47				
Karnataka	51	577	47	512	29	291	30	320				
Kerala	86	2018	50	1049	22	773	35	479				
Madhya Pradesh	143	1381	81	769	34	250	71	593				
Maharashtra	62	1142	33	394	28	353	23	163				
Manipur	6	42	24	124	7	41	—	—				
Meghalaya	—	—	6	35	—	—	4	34				
Mizoram	16	65	—	—	—	—	—	—				

Nagaland	2	17	4	35	—	—	2	12
Orissa	17	169	28	282	21	230	23	302
Punjab	7	55	29	211	2	24	8	104
Rajasthan	26	269	44	535	12	124	3	13
Sikkim	—	—	1	1	6	6	—	—
Tamil Nadu	31	315	31	322	152	881	73	615
Tripura	8	149	4	20	—	—	5	48
Uttar Pradesh	63	807	383	3262	58	470	8	47
West Bengal	111	863	80	963	45	456	66	715
<i>Union Territories</i>	17	159	44	652	7	88	13	207

NOTES: \* Including the Population of Outgrowth (if any) of such Towns in 1971, 1981 and 1991.

\*\* Excluding 16 New Towns of Jammu and Kashmir and 12 other New Towns of Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu which were treated as such due to bifurcation/trifurcation of the towns which continued since 1981 or earlier.

† Excluding 9 New Towns of Assam for which population was not available as no census was conducted there in 1981.

Source(s): Same as for Appendix Table 3.

Appendix Table 5: Decadal Percent Change in Urban Population classified into Broad Categories\* as measured through Instantaneous\*\* approach in India† and its major States 1961-71, 1971-81 and 1981-91

Sl. No.	India/State	a-1981-91 b-1971-81 c-1961-71	Decadal Percent Change					Small Towns
			All	Cities	Large Towns	Medium Towns		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
INDIA								
1	Andhra Pradesh	a	36.09	46.87	28.14	25.30	6.38	
		b	44.51	55.55	49.06	34.74	22.60	
		c	38.23	51.98	54.38	26.65	13.71	
2	Bihar	a	42.64	77.45	11.33	13.38	-38.84	
		b	48.62	66.11	79.74	49.16	-18.85	
		c	33.92	49.97	99.10	18.76	-2.12	
3	Gujarat	a	30.39	26.64	59.63	40.98	-4.01	
		b	54.76	96.76	112.84	40.36	12.10	
		c	43.95	40.35	53.92	58.57	30.63	
4	Haryana	a	33.60	52.94	17.32	5.38	2.44	
		b	41.42	57.25	53.51	34.21	5.40	
		c	41.00	49.88	109.16	3.25	32.99	
		a	43.07	47.75	99.64	15.73	16.34	
		b	59.47	485.07	-32.47	80.45	37.46	
		c	35.58	115.31	48.81	24.47	6.04	



5	Karnataka	a	29.09	42.14	47.34	28.71	-21.99
		b	50.65	69.34	45.94	69.60	9.06
		c	35.23	66.90	7.49	29.03	13.65
6	Kerala	a	60.89	100.85	22.12	-3.68	116.14
		b	37.64	29.58	10.46	83.58	-22.62
		c	35.72	113.10	22.59	24.33	-27.81
7	Madhya Pradesh	a	44.98	56.11	12.11	51.73	44.49
		b	56.03	65.61	119.00	9.28	47.35
		c	46.63	90.78	72.38	21.42	15.12
8	Maharashtra	a	38.66	43.43	51.41	31.47	-6.73
		b	39.99	54.72	-1.16	41.17	-1.12
		c	40.75	50.67	70.04	26.76	1.14
9	Orissa	a	36.08	45.21	56.15	23.10	21.23
		b	68.54	99.36	235.20	29.86	34.60
		c	66.30	278.88	-35.48	160.19	9.46
10	Punjab	a	29.11	51.33	77.57	-17.77	11.91
		b	44.51	67.99	32.60	34.48	21.06
		c	25.27	32.55	141.19	5.60	12.32
11	Rajasthan	a	39.24	48.98	90.37	35.21	-2.85
		b	58.69	77.73	35.58	82.20	23.26
		c	38.47	49.84	102.49	36.38	13.58
12	Tamil Nadu	a	19.28	26.44	13.55	6.71	-1.92
		b	27.98	43.44	59.93	6.07	-2.68
		c	38.64	60.84	34.97	38.73	9.70

Appendix Table 5—Concl'd.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
13	Uttar Pradesh	a	38.97	51.39	28.02	53.21	9.97
		b	60.62	43.04	82.18	30.12	130.70
		c	30.68	37.37	14.31	31.20	23.65
14	West Bengal	a	28.90	36.71	-21.08	32.57	9.63
		b	31.73	33.47	36.69	7.47	43.80
		c	28.40	27.09	66.69	4.49	21.14

NOTES:

\* For Population range corresponding to each category please see Appendix Table-2.

\*\* That is Percent Population Change computed by considering the population Classified into a particular size-class-category at the two points of time or in other words, at the beginning and at the size of a decade.

† Excluding Assam for the 1971-81 and 1981-91 decades and Jammu & Kashmir for the 1981-91 decade.

Source(s): (i) Census of India, 1991, Paper-2 Provisional Population Totals: Rural-Urban Distribution, pp. 387-393 and 419-425.

(ii) Census of India, Occasional Paper-1 of 1986, "Study on Distribution of Infrastructural Facilities—Levels and Trends of Urbanization", pp. 351-356.

Appendix Table 6: Decadal Percent Change in the Population of Cities and Towns\* as measured through Continuous\*\* Approach in India and its Major States 1961-71, 1971-81 and 1981-91

Sl. No.	India/State		Decadal Percent Change					Small Towns
			All Cities/ Towns	Cities	Large Towns	Medium Towns		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
	INDIA†	a	32.81	34.49	31.60	29.57	29.32	
		b	37.56	37.16	37.33	38.47	37.97	
		c	34.43	36.07	33.79	33.33	32.34	
1	Andhra Pradesh	a	42.90	49.12	39.78	32.46	29.50	
		b	44.71	41.93	44.58	48.19	47.68	
		c	34.19	39.89	19.12	33.78	30.39	
2	Bihar	a	25.53	23.86	21.73	28.56	32.84	
		b	49.39	49.84	55.95	48.26	46.63	
		c	28.47	30.14	21.40	20.87	36.57	
3	Gujarat	a	32.06	36.70	30.51	23.90	20.98	
		b	36.69	42.59	29.34	34.59	31.11	
		c	34.70	43.75	28.43	27.93	26.89	



Appendix Table 6—Concl'd.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
4	Haryana	a	38.81	40.72	31.93	32.86	42.03
		b	44.43	53.71	48.78	38.98	34.26
		c	33.47	-2.89	40.25	32.74	34.84
5	Karnataka	a	29.79	34.27	34.86	20.31	20.93
		b	44.88	55.38	37.44	36.87	34.91
		c	32.43	31.47	40.61	35.81	28.75
6	Kerala	a	38.33	39.35	62.52	29.17	12.95
		b	26.34	21.54	13.06	22.57	124.20
		c	37.92	53.06	20.98	16.52	58.77
7	Madhya Pradesh	a	33.81	33.01	39.70	31.69	31.94
		b	44.81	49.31	42.91	46.93	36.70
		c	41.86	47.48	51.11	39.44	35.04
8	Maharashtra	a	36.41	38.81	27.27	28.02	30.00
		b	38.12	40.00	42.82	33.46	27.81
		c	38.70	41.06	40.54	35.42	31.64
9	Orissa	a	30.91	37.29	30.41	27.10	23.45
		b	53.70	60.83	45.16	54.47	48.02
		c	47.66	40.63	38.47	71.02	43.34
10	Punjab	a	31.36	35.54	29.77	30.33	22.20
		b	37.96	39.38	43.06	33.10	36.52
		c	24.82	32.72	28.05	17.11	19.69

11	Rajasthan	a	35.99	38.80	30.76	37.82	34.83
		b	46.91	53.29	40.15	47.24	40.01
		c	34.69	41.75	35.83	32.68	27.89
12	Tamil Nadu	a	18.43	20.66	14.07	14.42	16.38
		b	26.52	26.02	31.41	23.82	26.80
		c	36.76	40.65	26.68	37.27	35.50
13	Uttar Pradesh	a	35.72	36.85	32.31	39.02	33.21
		b	34.34	29.53	35.71	41.57	40.75
		c	26.76	26.16	28.58	26.26	27.00
14	West Bengal	a	26.82	22.75	40.03	41.92	43.18
		b	23.82	15.26	31.21	31.75	43.00
		c	24.52	15.65	30.17	44.65	26.00

NOTES: \* and † Please see Appendix Table-5.

\*\*That is, Percent Population Change computed by considering the decadal variation in population only those cities/towns which were belonging to a particular size class at the beginning of each decade.

Source(s): Same as for Appendix Table-5.









